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ABSTRACT

This document is designed for Canadians interested in the South Pacific island chain nation of Indonesia. The kit includes information, photographs, and illustrations concerning Indonesia, West Papua (Irian Jaya), and East Timor. There are discussions of Indonesia's environment, its transmigration program, development refugees, and ties with Canada. Lists of relevant organizations, resources, and group questions are included, as are ideas for student activism grouped under the heading "What You Can Do." (LBG)

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THE INDONESIA KIT



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by *Elaine Briere* and *Susan Gage*

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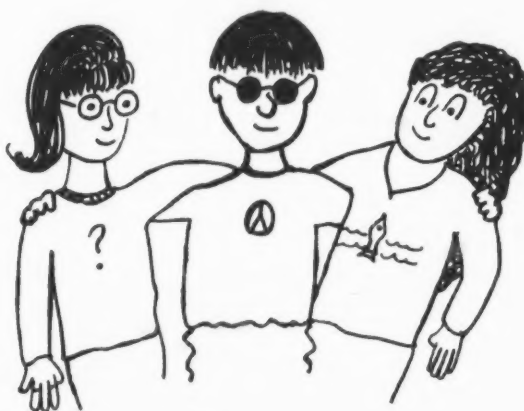
THE INDONESIA KIT

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THE INDONESIA KIT

— a few prefacing words

Indonesia is a land of thousands of islands, home to a myriad of different cultures and languages. Those who travel in Indonesia return with memories of spicy food, of traditional buildings covered with intricate patterns and topped by soaring roofs, of graceful dances and complex dramas, of friendly, gracious people.

This kit does not attempt to give a cohesive picture of Indonesia's complex and varied cultures. Rather, the purpose of the kit is to explore the political threads of Indonesian life, and to trace these threads back through their historical roots.

Because of its focus, **THE INDONESIA KIT** may seem to some readers to have an overly negative tone.

"But what about the beautiful batiks? the nasi goreng? the rice fields? Surely you've left something out of this picture!"

For a view of the cultural Indonesia, the travellers' Indonesia, the reader can peruse the travel section of the newspapers or the bookstores. Far more difficult to find, however, is information about Indonesia's recent political history, or about the everyday reality for ordinary Indonesians. The fact that Indonesia's jails still house political prisoners; that hundreds of thousands of *tapols* (ex-political prisoners) are still not allowed to work, to vote, to travel, or to publish their writings; that "democracy" in Indonesia has a highly militarized face; that independence struggles on the outer islands are right now being brutally suppressed — these facts go virtually unreported due to the strictly controlled nature of the Indonesian press, and the "hands-off" stance of the international media. Despite Canada's many links with Indonesia — through trade, aid, and travel — most Canadians know very little about this country, the fifth most populated in the world.

It is to break through this silence, and to give Canadians the information which will help them stand in solidarity with the people of Indonesia, that this project was conceived.

INDONESIA: The Facts



Land Area: 2 million sq. km. of land, divided up into 13,000 islands spread across almost 5000 km. of ocean.

Resources:

- Oil (12th largest oil producer)
- Natural Gas (world's largest exporter of liquid natural gas)
- Nickel (3rd largest nickel producer in the "free world")
- tin, gold, silver, copper
- Crops: rubber, palm oil, coconut, sugar-cane, tea, cocoa and timber

Population: 180,000,000 people — the fifth most populated country in the world.

GNP per Capita: \$490

Motto: Bhineka Tunggal Ika — Unity in Diversity

Language: Bahasa Indonesia — adapted from the Malay language to help unite people linguistically. There are over 1000 indigenous languages, and over 300 different ethnic groups.

Religion:

The official classification looks like this:

- Muslim:** 85% (Indonesia is the most populous Islamic state in the world);
- Christian:** 10%
- Animist:** 3%
- Hindu:** 2%

but many of the Javanese, the largest ethnic group by far, are *abangan*, people who follow a combination of Muslim and animist spiritual beliefs.

President: General Suharto

Great! Now I know all about Indonesia!



Wait a minute! If you really want to know all about Indonesia, you're going to have to dig a little deeper than the bare statistics!

Groan!
Sounds like work!

Well yes, but it's interesting work. Indonesia is a unique country, but it also shares a lot of characteristics with the rest of the world. When we understand some of the forces which shape Indonesia's development, we start to understand more about what makes the world tick! Besides, it's not all that difficult; the only thing you need to do to get started is to turn the page.



They tried. But the Dutch stuck to their guns.

CHAPTER I: A Rich Region

Indonesia. It's been around a long time. Remains found in Java suggest that Indonesia was home to one of the world's earliest peoples. Millenia later, after successive waves of immigration of Malay people, it became an important trading centre, famed for its rich resources, its batik cloth, its art and literature.

"...such data as we have suggests that as late as the eighteenth century the common man in Southeast Asia had a level of living not greatly different from that of his fellow man in Western Europe; for the upper classes life may well have been more refined and comfortable in Southeast Asia than in Western Europe."

-K. Buchanan, *The Southeast Asian World*, London 1967

CHAPTER II: Enter the Colonialists

All this wealth did not go unnoticed. The resources of the Indonesian islands — spices, tin, rubber — acted as a lure for European countries. The Portuguese were the first to invade, but their control didn't last long. British and Dutch interests followed, and, beginning in the early 1600s, the Dutch East India Company began a reign which was to last for over 300 years, ruling the islands and taxing the people. The Dutch Company established trading posts for the collection of produce, pressured individual rulers to do business solely with the company, and in the 18th

century, pushed through a system of *forced deliveries*, under which the farmers were compelled to grow and sell to the company at a set price. Later, the system changed. Large companies were encouraged to establish enormous plantations.

Through all this time, the Dutch East India Company grew rich by extracting products from the people of the islands and shipping them to Europe. But the people of Indonesia, who watched their riches shipped off to Europe, became poorer and poorer.

Struggling Against the Dutch

The War Method:

From 1825 to 1908, a series of guerilla wars kept the Dutch forces busy. However, the people of Indonesia fought against a rich and heavily-armed power. Try as they might, they couldn't get rid of the Dutch.

The Political Method:

In the early 1900s, Indonesian independence movements began to sprout up. The Dutch reaction to this unwelcome development was to round up the leaders and put them in jail.

Then came World War II. In 1942 the Japanese overthrew the Dutch, and promised the Indonesians independence. But it was not till after the defeat of Japan that the Indonesian nationalists declared independence on August 17, 1945, under president Sukarno.

At the end of the war, the Dutch returned. They met with fiercer resistance. In 1949, the Dutch granted independence to the United States of Indonesia. The only piece they kept was West Papua.

CHAPTER III: The Colonial Residue

When Indonesia got its independence, it was left with a host of problems arising from its colonial past:

1. Why are we part of this country?

The Dutch East Indies consisted of people from many different linguistic, cultural and religious groups. The people of West Papua are Melanesians, with curly hair and dark skins, whose religion is animism. The people of Bali are Hindu. The Muslim religion of Java is very different from the stricter Islam of some of the outer islands. All these peoples were brought together, not through any decision of their own, but because the Dutch happened to grab all of them at the same time.

This would have been bad enough, but the Dutch made things worse. When they arrived, there was an active trade between the different islands of the archipelago. This bothered the Dutch for two reasons. First, such trade interfered with Dutch domination; all trade was to be directed towards Holland. Second, the Dutch, like many colonial powers, preferred to use a "divide and rule" policy. If the people of the Dutch East Indies hated and distrusted each other, then they would be less likely to get together and overthrow the Dutch. Because much of the anti-Dutch activity was on Java, the Dutch established local elites hostile to Java on the outer islands.



Indonesia is a collection of many different peoples.

How might this lead to problems in Indonesia today?



2. Who rules, and how?

Before colonialism, there was a ruling class, the *prijaji*. The *prajaji* had certain responsibilities to the common people and certain restraints in their use of power. The Dutch used the *prijaji* to help institute Dutch policy, but took away the element of responsibility and restraint.

How might this affect the behaviour of Indonesia's modern-day ruling class?

Well, thank goodness the Indonesians finally broke free from colonialism!



But Indonesians soon discovered that colonialism is like a toxic poison; even when you think you've got rid of it, its effects stay around for a long, long time.



Seems like even when the Indonesians are finally independent they'll have a few problems!



And it didn't take long for them to surface!

3. Where did the wealth all go?

From 1850 to 1872, the Dutch Indies contributed one-third of the Dutch budget. The Dutch were able to reduce their national debt, and this money also paid for the building of the Dutch state railways. Later, from 1878 to 1900, the revenue was used for Indonesian infrastructures, but these infrastructures — transportation and telegraphic communications — were for the benefit of the foreign nationals who managed the huge plantations, and were all designed for trade with Europe.

How would this lack of investment in real development continue to hurt Indonesia?

4. Who has the land?

During the 1900s, many Indonesian farmers lost their land. The most common method of land takeover was the practice of European planters and Chinese money-lenders to thrust generous advances upon poor peasants. Then, when the farmer was slow to repay, he would find his land taken away.

How might land inequity affect Indonesia's development today?

5. Who is going to run the businesses?

When the Dutch came, the islands of Indonesia were hopping with traders, business entrepreneurs, merchants. That didn't suit the Dutch at all. The purpose of having colonies was a double one: to provide raw goods for the mother country, and to buy manufactured goods (at high prices) from the mother country. So during colonialism local businesses were discouraged because they provided competition for Dutch goods.

How might the lack of independent local industries and business people affect Indonesia today?

Chapter IV:

Development Under Sukarno

The first president of Indonesia, Sukarno, faced a lot of problems:

"There's no unity in our country. Different languages, different customs, different religions. . . how will we ever be united?"

"The Dutch have left us with nothing! We even have to take over the colonial debts that they incurred when they were in power!"



"We have a few educated people, but almost no one trained in managing business. Who will handle the economy of our country?"



Sukarno was an Indonesian nationalist. He believed that all Indonesians, regardless of their religious or ethnic backgrounds, could work together. This was a little like expecting the people of Europe to become members of one nation! The result? Problems.

Problem #1

Disunity within

Indonesia's parliamentary system was based on a European model, with a legislature, a cabinet, and a president. But there were problems with this western model. In 1955, 30 parties fought for 257 seats. All this diversity allowed the army to take more power.

Problem #2

Disunity without

From the first, Sukarno's government had to deal with people in revolt against the government. People in the outlying regions thought of the new government in Java as a new group of colonialists, Javan instead of Dutch.

Indonesia Post: Flipping Through the Headlines

1948

SEPARATISTS IN WEST JAVA PROCLAIM A SEPARATE ISLAMIC STATE

Muslims in South and Central Sulawesi Join the Rebels, Proclaim themselves a Muslim Republic

1956

Uprising in West Sumatra

SUMATRAN UPRISING SPREADS TO OTHER OUTER ISLANDS

1958

Local Sumatran Leaders Revolt

British and American B-26 Bombers support Sumatran Revolt

Sukarno's army was kept busy trying to force unwilling islanders to become part of Indonesia. Right from the beginning, there were problems in Sumatra. The Aceh people of northern Sumatra claimed that they were an independent nation. The South Moluccan people proclaimed their independence in 1950. The West Papuans didn't want to be handed over to Indonesia by the Dutch. (Read more about them on page 15.)

When all these peoples had been more-or-less suppressed, the army, fearful that their power was about to be reduced, persuaded Sukarno to begin a campaign against the newly independent state of Malaysia.

All this military activity led to another problem — the every increasing power of the army.

Seems Sukarno had his work cut out for him, keeping the country together. What did he do?



In all cases, Sukarno's response to demands for local autonomy was

Call in the army!





Problem #3 The Army

The more they were called in to suppress revolts, the stronger the army became. They were helped in their rise to power by none other than



UNCLE SAM

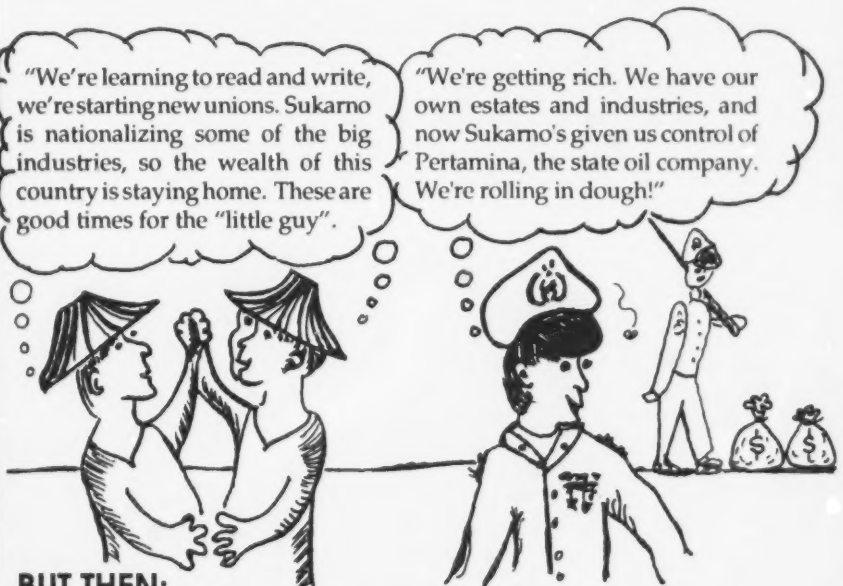
Sukarno was opposed to foreign ownership in Indonesia. He nationalized some industries, and requested aid from the Soviet Union, as well as the US. This made him unpopular with the US, who thought he was a tool of the communists. First — in 1958 — they tried to back an anti-Sukarno revolt. When this attempt failed, the US continued to train and equip the Indonesian army for future leadership roles.

Indonesian Officers Receiving U.S. Military Training

Up to 1958	250
1958 to 1965	4,000

THE SUKARNO SOLUTION

Sukarno's solution, *Guided Democracy*, was an attempt to balance the different interests in the country. Sukarno tried hard to keep the strongest groups — the army, the PKI (the Indonesia peasant-based communist party) and the Muslims — in balance. On the one hand, he kept the army happy with giant giveaways. On the other, he supported the peasants in their struggle for land reform. In the early 1960s, Indonesians were pretty happy:



BUT THEN:

1963: Indonesia mounts a disastrous military campaign against Malaysia. The U.S. withdraws aid. Inflation soars. The people who suffer most are the workers and the peasants.

1965: Sukarno is increasingly isolated by western powers, angered at his campaign against Malaysia and his nationalization of industry. He tells US Ambassador Howard Jones to "go to hell with your aid". In August, 1965, he announces an alliance with Vietnam and China. Less than 2 months later, his power is snatched away by a group of military officers. Sukarno hangs onto his life, if not his power. The same can't be said for the members of the PKI and their friends.

Chapter V: The Coup and After

October 1, 1965: The Coup

Led by **General Suharto**, a group of Indonesian army officers take over the country. They allege that they are responding to an "attempted Communist coup," but no credible evidence for a Communist coup is ever produced. In the next few months, approximately a million people are killed—mostly members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other people who we might call "left-wing"; hundreds of thousands more are tortured and imprisoned.

The U.S. Central Intelligence describe the anti-PKI massacres as

"one of the worst mass murders of the twentieth century. . ."

The CIA should know; in May 1990, CIA officials admitted that their role in the massacres was an active one. The CIA compiled long lists of PKI leaders, which they handed over to Indonesian army officials.

"No one cared, as long as they were Communists, that they were being butchered."

— Howard Federspiel, U.S. Bureau of Intelligence and Research

What is more, the CIA used the "Jakarta Coup" as a model for future operations such as the overthrow of the elected government of Chile in 1973.

"The killing was on such a huge scale that there were sanitation problems in East and North Sumatra. The Agency [CIA] was extremely proud of its successful (one word deleted [by CIA censors]) and recommended it as a model for future operations."

— Ralph McGehee, former senior CIA officer

There are many different points of view on the coup, the massacre which followed, and the new government which was established.

The killings were absolutely necessary. The communists were attempting to overthrow the government!

If the communists were planning to overthrow the government, why weren't they armed? They were completely defenseless when the army and their trained civilians moved in to kill them!

"With its 100 million people and its 3,000 mile arc of islands containing the region's richest hoard of natural resources, Indonesia constitutes the greatest prize the South-East Asian area."

"... it is both encouraging and remarkable that responsible leaders have emerged in Indonesia."



Look carefully at these 4 viewpoints. Can you pick out which represents an Indonesian peasant? an Indonesian military officer? Richard Nixon, who would later be the U.S. president? an editorial writer for the Toronto Global and Mail?

Hot
off the Press!
Indonesia Today



Kopkamtib?
Bakorstanas?
What do they mean?



But don't they have
elections? Can't
Indonesians change
their government?



The New Order: Government Under Suharto

"New Order policies that consistently favour foreign investment have been possible only because of the post-1965 political restructuring that excludes important groups from power and applies a high degree of pressure and coercion against opponents of the regime."

Business International 1978

Power in the New Order: Who Has It? . . . Who Doesn't?

After the coup, it soon became evident that the real power in Indonesia lay with an inner cabinet of military advisors. In 1969, military control was increased through a policy of **military integration**. At every level of administration, right down to the administration of the village, key positions could be held only by military personnel. Many of these administrators are part of a military branch which was called until recently KOPKAMTIB, but which is now, in a slightly different form, called BAKORSTANAS.

Kopkamtib and Bakorstanas: The Military Fist

Kopkamtib (Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) was the Indonesian Security-Intelligence branch, with powers to arrest and detain without trial, to issue decrees and control the press.

In 1988, Kopkamtib, worried about the increasingly strong voices of its critics, changed its name to **Bakorstanas**, short for **Coordination Board to Help Solidify National Stability**. Although the structure is a little different, the people and their powers are the same. Each region has a board, called *Bakorstanasda*, composed of armed forces personnel and police chiefs, and each board reports to military headquarters in Jakarta. Kopkamtib powers to deal with "latent communism" are still in force.

Suharto & Friends

(A Quick Course on How to Keep Control)

After the coup, the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) was outlawed, and most people who had been associated with it were either killed or kept in prison without trial for many years. Even after these political prisoners (called *ta-pols* in Indonesia) are released, many of them are denied the right to vote.

Only two non-government parties are allowed to exist, the PPP (a Muslim party) and the PDI (a non-Muslim conservative party).

They are severely hampered by a number of government policies: they must accept leaders endorsed by Suharto, they are not allowed to hold large outdoor meetings or to organize between elections, and they are not allowed to criticize government policy.

Even if they did win, the government structure is stacked against them. One-third of the People's Consultative Assembly—the main policy-making body—is composed of non-elected Suharto appointees.

Democracy: (Suharto-style)

In Indonesia, general elections follow democratic principles except that:

- 370 members of the 920-member Peoples Consultative Assembly, which decides general policy, are appointed by the government. (This body never discusses topics that the government considers sensitive.)
- 100 of the 360 members of the members of parliament are appointed by the government.
- Nobody can become a candidate of any party unless approved by the government.
- In 1973, the 30 opposition parties were forced to merge into 2 parties, with very limited powers. It became illegal to establish any more political parties.
- The government openly offers rewards in cash and kind to anyone of influence who promises to support the government party, Golkar.
- Only Golkar is allowed to campaign at the village level.
- Three topics are forbidden during elections: the constitution, the role of the army, and Pancasila (see below).
- Thousands of ex-tapols (political prisoners) are not allowed to vote.

*How can we possibly know,
If the papers are pressured
by the censors,
And free forums have been
controlled?*

*The papers are the extensions
of our eyes.
Now they're replaced by
official eyes.
We no longer see a varied
reality.
We're only given a picture
of a model reality.
Which has been tailored
by official tailors.*

(From *Spies*, by Willibordus Surendra Rendra, Indonesian poet. Rendra's political work has been banned in Indonesia, and he was jailed without trial in 1978.)

Watch Your Thoughts!

The former head of the army's "Thought Control Section" is presently head of the Indonesian Journalists Association.

And, just to make sure, there's Pancasila

Pancasila first came into being under Sukarno. He thought that if only Indonesians could agree on certain basic principles, they could be more unified. Pancasila means "5 principles": belief in one God, humanitarianism, national unity, consensus, and social justice. Sounds pretty harmless? Think again!

Since 1984, Pancasila has been strictly enforced by the government. All organizations must swear allegiance to the Pancasila principles. Newspapers must abide by the Pancasila press system, which means they must publish only articles which are "in consensus" (or agreement) with the government. Tribal people who are animists, believing in many spirits in nature, fall afoul of Pancasila; many Muslims also refuse to accept Pancasila.

Pancasila isn't left to chance: all civil servants, soldiers, educators, students, businessmen and workers, must take a course on Pancasila. If you refuse to take the Pancasila oath, you won't get a job in the civil service or the huge state sector.

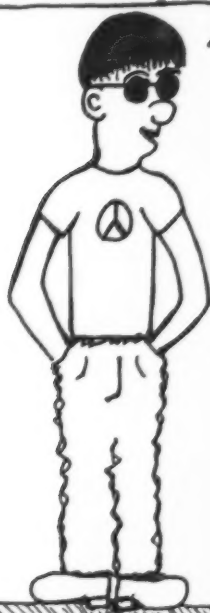
Boy, sounds like a boring election! I guess it's pretty hard to win when you can't criticize the government!



Pancasila
(pan-cha-sée-la):
Sounds kind of interesting. What is it?



Well, democracy may be a little weak, but I'd like to know more about Indonesia's economic development. How is the average Indonesian-on-the-street doing?



Export Economics: (Easy Lessons on How to Tighten Your Belt)

Suharto's development strategy has been based on the "trickle down" theory: if the big companies make enough money, eventually some of it will trickle down to the poor. Unfortunately, in Indonesia as well as in other countries, the trickles which make it to the poor are few and far between.

- Wages have been kept very low, in order to attract foreign companies.
- Until November 1990, strikes were outlawed. Although strikes are no longer technically illegal, strikers are routinely imprisoned and fired.
- Profits made by the companies are not invested in Indonesia, but go off to head offices in Japan, the US, or Europe. Some also goes to a few wealthy Indonesians.

Mina's Story

When she was 15 years old, Mina began working at a candy factory in Solo, Central Java. Three years later, she is still there. She works 10 hours a day wrapping and sorting candies. For each day of work, she gets paid 700 Rupees (Cnd 50¢). If she's sick, or if the factory closes for a public holiday, Mina doesn't get paid.

In Indonesia, it is legal to hire children at 13 years of age, and many children begin work right after elementary school.

Although the work is hard and conditions poor, Mina doesn't complain. If her boss heard complaints, he'd fire her and hire someone else.

— Information from *Inside Indonesia*, March 1990



Indonesia, like Canada, is rich in resources. Yet people work extremely hard for very little money. According to the UN Development Program Human Development Index, Indonesia rates poorly, with a score of 0.591, below El Salvador and Sri Lanka.

Meanwhile, Back on the Ranch . . .

The position of rural Javanese, already poor due to a colonial heritage of unequal land distribution, has become worse under Suharto. The "Green Revolution" — high-yielding hybrid rice and "miracle" fertilizers — are only of benefit to those who can afford them, and tend to make the wealthy and middle-class landowners richer and able to take over even more of the land, and the poor smallholders even less competitive and more likely to lose their land. In 1963 only 43.6 percent of the nation's landowners owned less than .5 hectares each. By 1973, 59 percent owned less than .5 hectares. The Result? The slums of Jakarta swell with landless people looking for work.

How Does Indonesia Rate? Some Basic Facts

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Japan	Nigeria	Canada
GNP per Capita (US dollars)	\$440	\$1940	\$21,020	\$290	\$16,960
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	68	23	5	103	7
Life Expectancy	61	70	78	51	77
% in secondary education	46	59	96	28	104

(Figures from World Bank Development Report, 1990)

Sharing the Wealth Around: Income Distribution

This table shows how the wealth is divided up. In Canada, for instance, the lowest 40% of the population receives 17% of the total wealth of the country, while the top 20% receives 40%.

	Lowest 40% of pop.	Top 20% of pop.
Indonesia	14	49
Bangladesh	17	45
Kenya	9	60
Israel	18	40
Japan	22	38
Canada	17	40

(Figures from UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children* 1989)



The Indonesia Kit

It sounds as if urban workers are pretty poor. But what about people in the country? Hasn't the "Green Revolution" done wonders for Indonesia?



Things not only look pretty poor in Indonesia, they look pretty unevenly spread around, too!

Often, the GNP per capita figure masks the fact that wealth is distributed differently in different countries. Where does Indonesia stand in terms of wealth distribution in this table? What does this suggest about the peasants of Indonesia? What will their share of the per capita \$440 be? What will their nutritional and health standards probably be like?

Why don't the Indonesian people get together and do something?



PROTEST!!

Despite the all-pervasive military presence, Indonesians are protesting. Half of Indonesia's population is under 21 years old, and they're organizing to change the power structure in their country.

January 1974: Major anti-Suharto student demonstrations coincide with the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka to Jakarta. Eleven people are killed and over 200 injured (KOPKAMTIB figures). After Tanaka leaves, student leaders and intellectuals are rounded up, radio stations and newspapers banned.

September 1984: The army opens fire on a Muslim protest in Jakarta. Dozens of people are killed.

1989: Demonstrations occur almost daily during the early months of 1989. Two to three thousand students march in the city of Bandung, for example, protesting the the expulsion of local poor people from their land. They shout anti-Suharto slogans. On April 25, the six editors of the major newspapers and magazines of Indonesia are summoned to the office of the Minister of Information. They are ordered not to report on any student demonstrations. On August 5, 6 students walk out of a lecture given by the Interior Minister, retired General Rudini, at the Bandung Institute of Technology. They are expelled, and each sentenced to 3 years in prison.



"Return the armed forces to their proper function."

From a 1978 student pamphlet

Response!!

Question: What is the military response to protest?

Answer: "Get more guns."

"Military expenditure is necessary for the well-being of the people. Real prosperity will only be enjoyed if there is a feeling of tranquillity in people's minds, day and night."

President Suharto, justifying a 50% increase in military expenditure in the early 1980s.

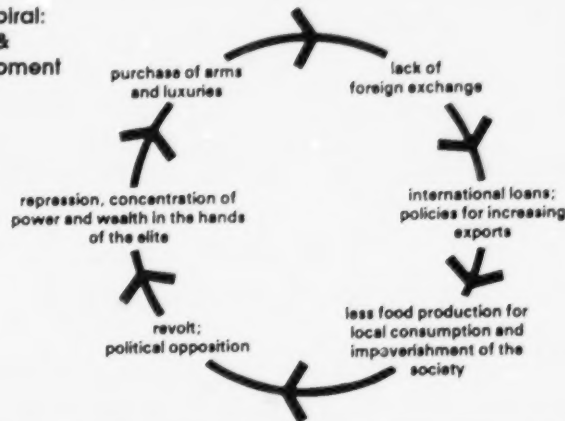
(quoted in Southwood & Flanagan, p. 51)

While some Indonesians might enjoy "a feeling of tranquillity" from the increased militarization of their country, others languish in prison. Since early 1985, more than 150 Muslims have been tried, convicted and sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment in Indonesia for giving public sermons critical of the government, or producing leaflets or journals denouncing government policy. Muslims have been in the forefront of the struggle against Suharto's policies.



The Indonesia Kit

The Vicious Spiral: Militarization & Underdevelopment



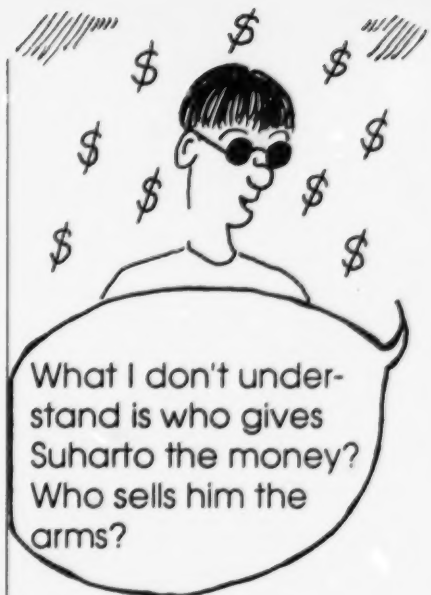
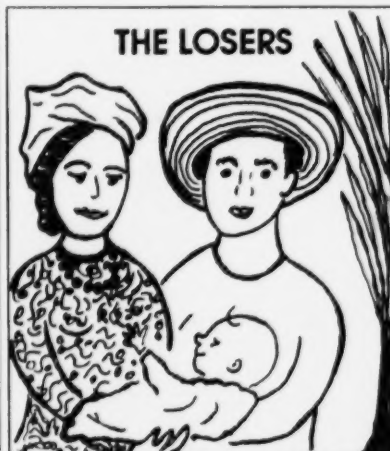
When Suharto boosts his military budget to increase repression, he has to borrow money to buy the guns. (Indonesia has an external debt of \$51 billion (1990 figures) or 45% of their Gross National Product. Twenty-eight percent of its export earnings must go towards "debt service payments" — essentially, to pay the interest.) Trace this circle around and see if you can understand how buying guns leads to more poverty, which leads to greater protest, and greater repression.

Who Finances Suharto? (You Scratch My Back, I'll Scratch Yours)

The Indonesian government could not keep going without huge infusions of loans and aid. The main donor is IGGI, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, of which Canada is a member, and Japan and the US major contributors.

IGGI loans:

1967	\$183million
1974	\$850million
1982	\$1.9 billion
1987	\$3.15 billion
1989	\$4.3 billion
1990/91	\$4.5 billion



This aid keeps all the top dogs happy. The Western powers feel it's worthwhile to keep Suharto in power because he's willing to let their multinational companies make huge profits out of the resources of Indonesia. Suharto feels that it's worthwhile to let the multinational companies use up Indonesia's resources because this way he can keep the military machine going and stay in power.

"In 1961 we believed, didn't we, that the world would never tolerate another genocide? Since then we've had Suharto, Pol Pot, Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein Between them they have executed and tortured to death more than a million people."

— Amnesty International, on their 30th Anniversary



How do these guys get away with it? When are things going to change?



A Journey Back Into Time (Colonialism Then & Now)

"What makes me resentful is the fact that the same colonial system is now operated by people whose skin is the same brown as mine, whose hair is as black as mine, who speak the same language that I use. I would be more proud if those who now try me were white, fair-headed, blue-eyed; because at least I could feel relief that my people had not taken system which for hundreds of years had oppressed them, as a system with which to oppress their own people."

— An Indonesian Citizen
(quoted in Southwood & Flanagan)

Some people call this new kind of colonialism
Neo-Colonialism.

Neo-Colonialism — The Aceh Example

The Acehnese people of north Sumatra have a long history of resistance. In the last 18 months, this resistance has re-surfaced, partly because of conflict between logging and traditional forest users. Logging companies are burning the houses of local Acehnese people and denying them access to the forests which have provided their livelihood for generations.

The response of the Indonesian government to Aceh uprising has been to send in the troops. In the last year, two thousand people have been killed. Reporters from respected press agencies such as Reuter have reported many public executions of Aceh people.



What will the future hold for young people in Indonesia?

West Papua: The People:

My people have lived in West Papua for around 30,000 years, I am told. Until a few years ago, I lived in the highlands, with my clan. We spoke our own language, different from the language of the people in the neighbouring valley. We were a self-reliant people. We farmed our valley, using age-old irrigation and drainage techniques, and we grew vegetables and raised pigs for the people of our clan. In all of our work, we listened to the spirits in the trees and land around us.

Although the Dutch ruled us for over 100 years, we never saw the Dutch in my village. Once the Indonesians came, though, everything changed. They wanted to "civilize" us — to make Indonesians out of us, dressed like Indonesians, speaking their language, worshipping one God, like them. And also they wanted our land for the Indonesian settlers who swarm over our land like locusts.

So now my clan has been moved from the land of our ancestors. These Indonesian generals have chopped down our forests, burned down our traditional houses, settled us in camps, surrounded us by Indonesian families, and told us to make our living from small bits of forest land which is too poor to grow food. And they call us barbarians! At first we resisted, and some of us were killed. Most of our young men ran off to the hills of the interior to fight with the OPM, the Free Papua Movement.

For now, I am waiting, helping my family to try to eke out a living. But one day I, too, will go to the hills. Better to die fighting than to live as one dead.



The History:

The island of New Guinea is the second largest in the world, is often called the Amazon of Asia because of its dense forests. It also has immense swamps, high mountains, rich resources, and a variety of climates. In 1848 the Dutch, feeling they needed a buffer zone to ensure access to the Dutch East Indies, declared this region Dutch territory.

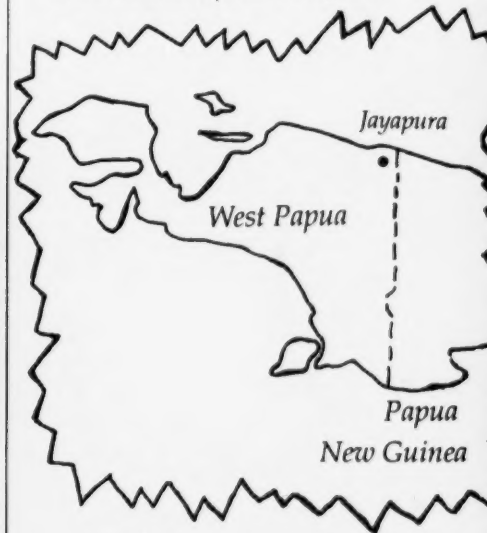
In 1945, when independence talks were taking place between Indonesia and Holland, Indonesia wanted to incorporate all of the Dutch East Indies, including West Papua. Holland kept West Papua, partly in order to appease its own hard-liners by retaining a last bit of the Dutch empire, partly because it made more sense for West Papua to eventually unite with Papua New Guinea as one independent nation. West Papua became a major point of confrontation in the mid-1950s, and finally the Dutch were pressured into handing West Papua over to the UN in 1962. In 1963, the UN gave West Papua to Indonesia, with the understanding that there would be a plebiscite in 1969 — the "Act of Free Choice" — in which West Papuans themselves would decide whether they wanted to be part of Indonesia, or be independent.

The Indonesia Kit

Indonesia's First Colony

West Papua

(Called by the
Indonesians *Irian Jaya*)



Well, certainly not by choice. If you remember from our discussion of colonialism, back on page 3, you'll remember that the European powers — in their haste to divide up the world — didn't pay much attention to who went well with whom.





It sounds as if the deck was stacked against "free choice" from the beginning! What did the West Papuans do?



But what about the other countries? What about the United Nations? Couldn't they *do* something?

Why wouldn't Indonesia let the West Papuans make up their own minds about whether to become part of Indonesia?



"Free Choice", Indonesian-Style:

1963: The day after West Papua was transferred to Indonesia, there was a huge bonfire in the main square of the capital city, presided over by Rusiah Sardjono, Indonesia's Minister of Culture. Papuan school textbooks, objects of Papuan culture, and Papuan flags — all went up in flames. Within the next month, the New Guinea Council (an elected advisory council established under the Dutch), was disbanded and replaced by an Indonesian-appointed regional assembly. All Papuan political parties, printed materials and demonstrations were banned. A few weeks later, the President issued the **Anti-Subversion Decree**, in which any attitude or behaviour against the aims of the Indonesian government was punishable by death.

1965 - 1969: Groups of West Papuans resisted, attacking Indonesian military barracks. In 1967, fourteen thousand West Papuans of the Arfak tribe, carrying 1,000 stolen firearms, rose up. Such uprising brought about grim reprisals by the Indonesian Army — strafing and destruction of whole villages. By the end of 1967, 3,500 villagers, mostly civilians, had been killed.

In February 1969, Brigadier-General Sarwo Edhie, notorious for leading the massacre of Indonesian communists and progressive leaders in 1965, launched **Operasi Wibawa** (Operation Authority), which aimed to annihilate the Papuan resistance and enforce security. Uprisings occurred in all parts of the country, and thousands of people were killed.

1969: The Act of "Free" Choice

The Act of Free Choice, when it came, was anything but free. The Indonesians rejected the idea of one person, one vote, claiming that the Papuans were "too primitive" for such a process, and instead hand-picked "representatives" for the decision. Once in the assembly meeting, the council members were further threatened by General Murtopo, who told them that those who voted against integration with Indonesia would have their "accursed tongues torn out" and would be shot on the spot. Little wonder that the decision was to remain with Indonesia!

The U.N. Response:

The United Nations, with only a few dissenting votes from former African colonies, voted to "take note" of the decision of West Papuans to remain part of Indonesia. In doing this, the UN violated its own Declaration of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960, which upheld the "need to pay regard to the freely expressed will of the peoples."

Irian Jaya (West Papua) through Indonesian Eyes:

"Our empire is a strong and glorious one. It is a matter of national pride that our land include all the territory which was once the Dutch East Indies!"

"Java is so crowded. We may need that extra land for Javanese settlers!"

"Those people are so primitive! Some of them wear hardly any clothes, and they actually believe that there are gods in the trees and the plants! We're doing them a favour by helping to civilize them!"

"Think about all of the resources in West Papua: trees, oil, minerals. Indonesia needs those resources to help make her rich!"

West Papua: Amazon of Asia

OIL & MINERALS

Oil, a magic door to opportunity in an energy-hungry world. But in West Papua, the earnings from rich oil deposits benefit Indonesia and the large multinational companies such as Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell. Large findings of nickel, gold and copper have meant, for the West Papuans, that they are forced off their own land, while giant companies mine the wealth.

LAND:

West Papua is being touted by the Indonesian government as prime plantation land. Foreign investors who want to grow nutmeg, cocoa, rubber, vanilla, pepper or copal are encouraged with tax breaks, and promises of land ownership. Indonesia plans to use 2 million hectares of land for plantations. Javanese peasants are imported, through the Transmigration Program, to provide the labour. One question isn't asked: Whose land is being taken? Rarely do the Papuans receive any compensation.

FORESTRY:

Indonesia's rainforests are second only to those of Brazil, and constitute nearly 10 percent of the world's remaining rainforests. West Papua's primary forest was seen by Suharto and his government, eager for foreign exchange, as a licence to plunder. In the rest of Indonesia, the government banned the export of unprocessed logs in 1980. However, business in West Papua has continued as usual. Local people, who rely on the forests for their living, are paid little or no compensation; huge companies log the forests without regard for soil erosion and polluting of water supplies.

FISHERIES:

While West Papuans fish the rich seas with poles and lines, Japanese, Korean and French companies deplete the waters with their ultra-modern equipment.

The Asmat: Sinking into the Sea

The Siretz River flowing into the Arafura Sea has formed a large estuary. Here the Asmat people — 70,000 of them — live on a vast coastal swamp. They are famous for their intricate carvings and distinctive music. Since the 1950s, they have gained some income by limited logging and sawmill operations.

In the 1970s, Jakarta-based timber companies, supported by military and police officials, forced the villagers to log their forests and float the trees down the river. Those who refused these "jobs", which paid practically nothing, were threatened with charges of subversion, punishable by imprisonment and death. These operations have completely disrupted village life. The adults are away from the villages for long periods of time. Their artwork has declined. The production of drums has been outlawed. They no longer have timber for their long dugout canoes.

In 1988, a new concern was raised about the estuary of the Asmat. The rapid clearcutting of their forests has created such erosion that it is feared that their estuary will sink into the sea. In the words of a Jakarta weekly:

"The Asmat area can again become sea. There is concern that several large rivers from the Jayawijaya mountain range like the Frinskap, Berasa and Tor, will submerge the Asmat."

(Budiardjo and Liem,
West Papua:
The Obliteration of a People)

Caution: Watch What You Sing



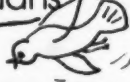
Arnold Ap was an anthropologist, musician and artist. His musical group 'Mambesak' played his arrangements of traditional Papuan music, and became extremely popular. He was arrested by the Indonesian army on suspicion of anti-government activity, and killed in what most West Papuans consider a staged escape attempt in April 1984.

Thirteen years for a Song

First Police Corporal Sokrates Yerisetouw, 33, father of four children, member of Depapre police force, was sentenced to 13 years and dismissed from the police force for circulating copies of West Papuan songs to students at Depapre Pembangunan High School.

— TAPOL Bulletin,
December 1990

What's happening to the West Papuans right now?



Well, the Indonesian government claims that they are "developing" Irian Jaya (their name for West Papua). But with any kind of development, you have to ask the questions: Who pays? Who profits?

I guess the West Papuans must have given up hope by now!



It seems to me that there should be an international outcry! Who's complaining about this situation?



Strangers in their Own Land?

In Jayapura, the capital of West Papua, you rarely see a native Papuan. All the administration, the jobs, the shops, the running of West Papua has been taken over by non-Papuans. In school textbooks, the culture and history of the Papuans is omitted.

As well, the intent of the Transmigration Policy (see pages 30 to 34) is to ensure that eventually Papuans will be a minority in their country.

A People without Rights?

Reports of mass killings and torture of political prisoners have been documented by Amnesty International. Frequently people are arrested, detained without trial, and either die mysteriously in custody, or are released and die very soon after in mysterious circumstances. The majority of political prisoners in Indonesia are now West Papuans.

The Papuan Response

Resistance

The OPM (Free Papua Movement) has been strong since 1965. They are guerrilla fighters, and their main targets are the Indonesian military posts. Every OPM attack has been followed by Indonesian retaliation: bombing of villages and mass killing of civilians. The total death toll, it is estimated, is 100,000 to 150,000 people. However, a dogged resistance continues.

Flight

1984 was a "big year" for refugees. 10,000 West Papuans (out of a total population of one million), fleeing Indonesian bombings and repression, made it across the border to Papua New Guinea. This has created a difficult situation for the small nation of Papua New Guinea, since the Indonesian government, angry that these refugees create an international impression that all is not well in West Papua, have tried very hard to get the refugees returned. So far, however, the United High Commission for Refugees records show that only 1,500 refugees have returned, and tens of thousands of refugees still live on the Papua New Guinea border.

The International Response

Until the 1980s, not a single country took up the cause of West Papua in the United Nations. The western powers, it seemed, were more interested in maintaining a friendly relationship with the government of Indonesia than in asking it embarrassing questions. In 1986, the newly-independent Vanuatu raised its voice for the first time at the UN General Assembly on West Papua's behalf. Non-governmental organizations, however, have become increasingly vocal since the mid-1980s in condemning the abuses of the Indonesian government.

December 7, 1975

INDONESIAN TROOPS INVADE EAST TIMOR

Shortly after midnight, Indonesian troops invaded Dili, the capital of this tiny country. At 2 a.m. the city was pounded by bombs, and the air filled with the screams of terrified residents. Paratroopers were dropped on the beaches by Invader bombers and DC3s. The early morning light broke to reveal a half-dozen warships in the harbour, and the first of the Indonesian troops which began a mass slaughter of civilians.

A former Portuguese colony, East Timor has recently emerged from a brief civil war, and has had three months of peace under the ruling party, FRETILIN. FRETILIN declared itself independent from Portugal only a few days ago.

Indonesia, denouncing FRETILIN as a "communist organization", is determined to annex East Timor as its 27th state. General Ali Murtopo, intelligence supremo of the Indonesian forces, has announced "everything will be over in three days".

— Information compiled from several sources

Amnesty International BULLETIN

July / August 1985

Torture and Killing in East Timor

Indonesian forces have systematically tortured and killed people in East Timor since they invaded the island territory in 1975, Amnesty International said in a detailed new report released on 26 June 1985....

East Timor Alert Network News May/89

"Open" but Shut

For months Indonesia has been announcing to the international community that East Timor would be "opened up" on January 1st of this year. So far there has been no change in the status of East Timor as a colonial occupied territory of Indonesia. Security restrictions are still omnipresent and an atmosphere of terror persists. Human rights organizations, the UN and Portuguese government representatives are still refused admission....

NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1989

Bishop Charges Timor Torture

Special to the New York Times
LISBON, Jan. 21 — The Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, saying claims that human rights abuses had ended were "lying propaganda," has accused the Indonesian Government of continuing to practice torture in the region.

... the Bishop, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Belo, accused the authorities in Jakarta of barbarism....

*Barbarous civilisers: a nation of
demagogues
Brutal colonialists: an empire of
pillagers*

*In the point of the bayonet
Is carved the trail of your progress
In the point of my bayonet
Is carved the history and the form
of my liberation.*

- from *Assassins*, by Francisco Borja, Timorese Poet, tortured and killed on December 7, 1975 by invading Indonesian forces.

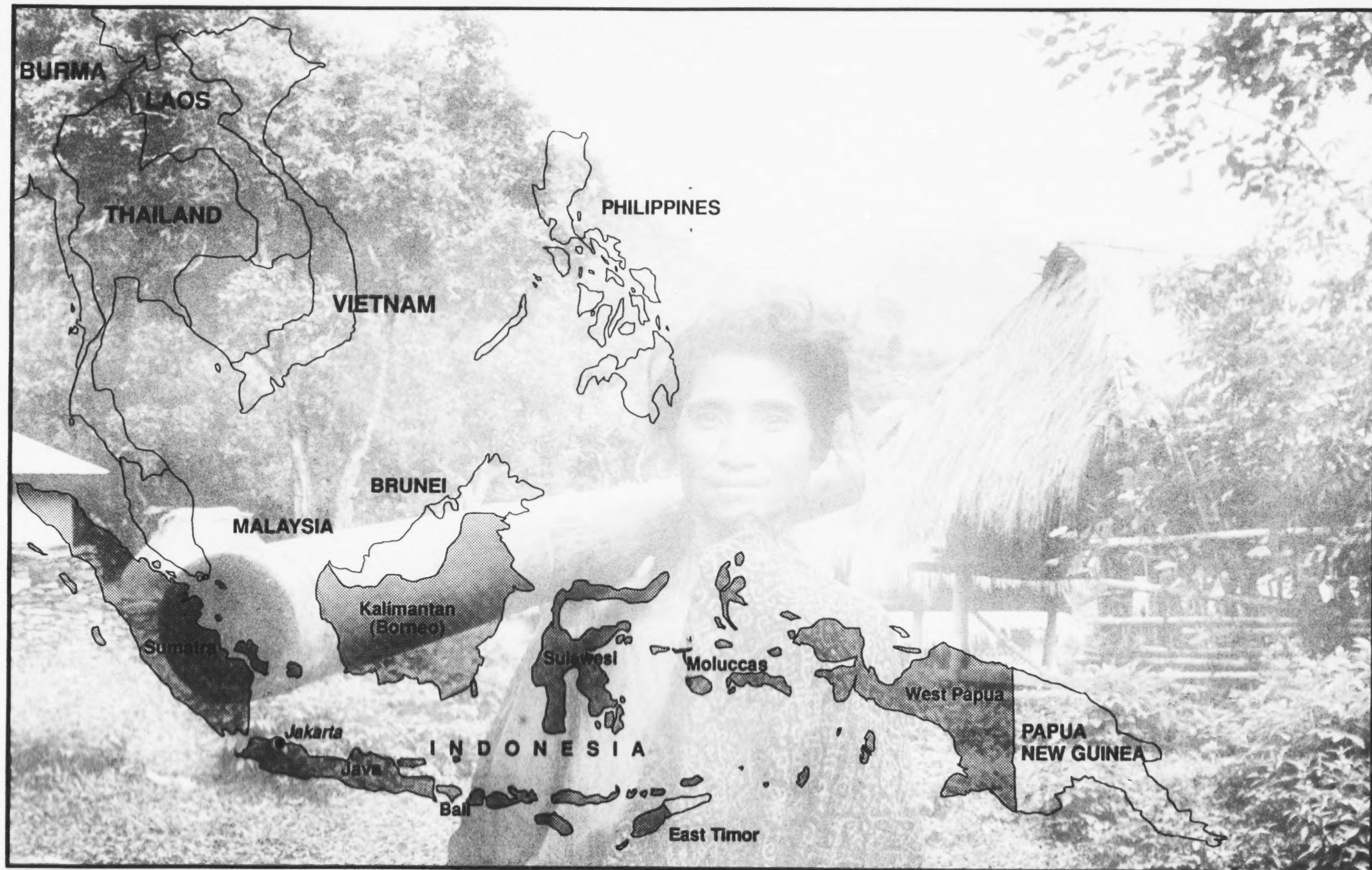
Indonesia's Second Colony

East Timor

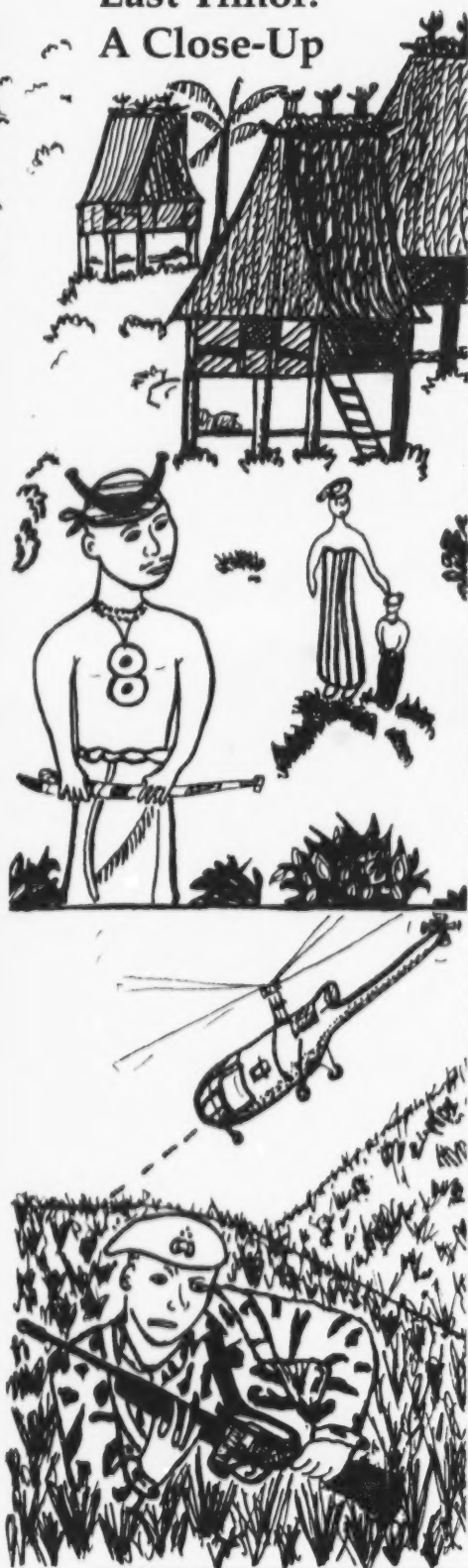


So who are these
people anyway?
Where do they live?
Why did all this
terrible stuff happen
to them?





East Timor: A Close-Up

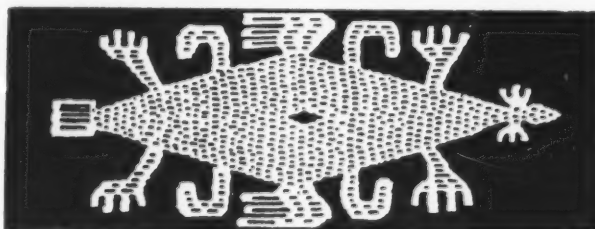


The Timorese People:

I am a mountain dweller, one of the Mambai people. When I was little I helped my family farm rice, corn, and root vegetables, and I took care of our goats. Along with the rest of my clan, I worked hard to grow enough food, and to raise some coffee as well, in order to get a little cash. My clan has farmed this area for many generations, ever since, many centuries ago, when we arrived in East Timor from other areas — Asia, Melanesia. We speak our own clan language — indeed, there are over 30 distinct languages in our small country. As well, we speak Tetum, the language of all Timor.

My family are animists. We believe that the spirits of the dead are with us in the trees and the land. This means that our land is very important to us. In our village, we learn all the skills we need to live: how to plant crops, how to predict the weather, how to care for the animals and the forest spirits. I am the first of my family to go to the European school, to learn the ways of the Portuguese. When independence was proclaimed, I was going to the Catholic secondary school in Dili, our capital. We were all so joyful, I remember, when we realized that we were finally independent from the Portuguese, that our land and its resources were our own. Then came the invasion. The Indonesians weren't willing for our independence to succeed.

Since then I have been fighting, hiding from the Indonesians in the hills I know so well. Many of my companions have been tortured and killed. My clan have been "relocated" to a hamlet where they are like prisoners, guarded by the military, forced to carry passes, always watched. But I, along with the other resistance fighters, keep on. They will never rule me; they will rule only my bones.



The Indonesian Forces:

Unity in Diversity" — that's the national motto of my country, and I've known it every since I can remember. When they sent us here to fight the guerrillas, they reminded us of the necessity for unity. The natives of Irian Jaya (or West Papua, as some of them insist on calling it) are still fighting and complaining about Indonesian rule; some of the people of South Molucca are even whining about getting independence. East Timor would just be a bad example to these people if it were allowed to be independent. Besides, they're communist, these people. If they were allowed to be independent, they might get aid from China or Russia — we'd have a Cuba in our back yard. And they're an uneducated, illiterate bunch; the Portuguese never did much to educate them when they were in charge.

Still, I didn't know when I came that I would have to drop napalm on villages, and burn crops, and round up villagers and kill them . . . it's sure a dirty war. I don't understand why these people don't just give up! Fortunately, the Indonesian Army doesn't keep any of us here for too long; I'm hoping I'll be replaced soon by someone from home. I'll sure be glad to go.

The Background:

In 1520, the Portuguese landed in Timor, in search of sandalwood trees. They stayed for over 400 years, dividing the island with the Dutch. The centuries of Portuguese rule were centuries in which the resources of East Timor—sandlewood and later coffee—were used to help develop Portugal, rather than East Timor. However, though East Timor seemed “undeveloped” to western eyes, it had very highly developed village-based economy which provided for the needs of everyone in the society. Under the Portuguese the village organization remained undisturbed.

The Portuguese held on to East Timor as long as possible, despite frequent revolts, but in 1974 the Portuguese had a revolution at home. The “old guard”, which had tenaciously held on to the colonies of the Portuguese empire, was overthrown, and the new leaders were willing to talk independence. Within a few months, three major parties had sprung up in East Timor, each of them with different platforms. The UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) wanted to remain affiliated with Portugal; the **FRETILIN** (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) advocated socialist, democratic reforms; the **Apodeti** party contained a few hundred members who wanted to integrate with Indonesia.

Indonesia took an early interest in these affairs. Indonesian radio mounted a hostile propaganda campaign, branding FRETILIN as communist. Indonesian newspapers carried false stories of Communist Chinese infiltration and political violence. Finally the UDT leaders, having been told by Indonesian intelligence chiefs that Indonesia would intervene if Fretilin gained power, attempted to seize power themselves in a military coup. The coup failed. After a month of fighting and about 2,000 deaths, Fretilin, which had the support of most of the rural population, was in control of all of East Timor, and administered it for three months, instituting agricultural cooperatives and literacy programs until the Indonesian invasion of December 7, 1975.



This photograph was taken just before the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia, when the people were full of hopes for a bright future as an independent country.





One-third of the total population dead? That's an incredible figure! Canada's population is 26,919,000. If you wiped out all the people of B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, the Yukon and Northwest Territories, you'd get an idea of what happened to the people of East Timor.* What's happened to all of those people?

(*Based on April 1991 figures — Statistics Canada)



Why take over? Some Indonesian Perspectives

"Indonesia is having trouble already with unity. If East Timor flourishes as an independent country, what effect will this success have on other areas seeking independence, like West Papua and the Moluccas?"

*"These people are **suku-suku terasing** — a bunch of backward, illiterate people, who don't even know how to cultivate their land properly. They're not capable of ruling themselves."*

"We're getting pretty crowded in Java. We may need all the land we can get for Javanese settlers."

"Fretilin is not a exactly communist organization (in fact, many of its leaders are devout Catholics) but it's socialist. What if East Timor asks China for assistance? What if it becomes 'the Cuba of Southeast Asia'?"

"U.S. President Ford and Henry Kissinger were here just the other day, and they certainly seemed keen on having us take over East Timor; they don't want any socialist countries around here! They need the Ombai-Wetar straits, just north of Timor, for their nuclear submarines to pass through. If we invade, we can be well-assured they'll supply us with arms."

December, 1975: The Invasion Begins

When the Indonesian troops invaded in 1975, they thought they would be able to take over this small country in no time. The commander of the forces, General Ali Murtopo, predicted it would take 3 days to subdue the population. Instead, the Indonesians found fierce resistance, a resistance which has continued for the past 15 years.

THE CASUALTIES OF WAR

December 1975 (the time of the invasion): Using the Indonesian government figures, there are at least 650,000 East Timorese.

December 1980: The Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics claim that there are 552,954 East Timorese — a 15% reduction. Other sources outside Indonesia claim that the death figure is much higher. Amnesty International claims that 200,000 died, and East Timor Church sources claim that the number is 300,000.



The Indonesia Kit

Killing them Softly

An Eyewitness Account

"Some people from the bush surrendered. All were suffering from a lack of clothing and had been sheltering in caves. They were immediately divided into two groups. The first group of five women were placed on one side and later taken away by helicopter. The second group, all of them

males, both youths and adults, consisted of 20 people.

At the same place where they stood, this group of people was shot dead by the marines. Their bodies were covered with dry grass and leaves, and the whole thing was set alight."

Eyewitness account from Lacluta, 2 September, 1981, reported by Ross Warneke in The Age, 14 May 1982

"As well, the Indonesians have discovered another weapon — hunger. By destroying arable land and crops through bombing, they are attempting to starve East Timor into submission."

(Suter, K. East Timor and West Irian. London: Minority Rights Group)

Muzzling the Press

October 1975: Five Australian journalists are killed in Balibo, just inside East Timor in a commando attack by Indonesian troops. There is a clear message: Indonesia won't tolerate any outside "meddling" in East Timor. Australia, determined to support Indonesia, keeps quiet. East Timor is firmly cut off from contact with the outside world. Indonesia continues to refuse to allow foreign observers or international relief groups free access to the territory. In early 1989, a Toronto Star correspondent, Martin Cohen, reports that, on his visit to East Timor, he is accompanied by eight security personnel. Everyone who consents to be interviewed is photographed by one of the officers.

The main sources of news are from refugees (and those with families

still in East Timor speak out knowing that their families will face reprisals) and information smuggled out by the Catholic Church.

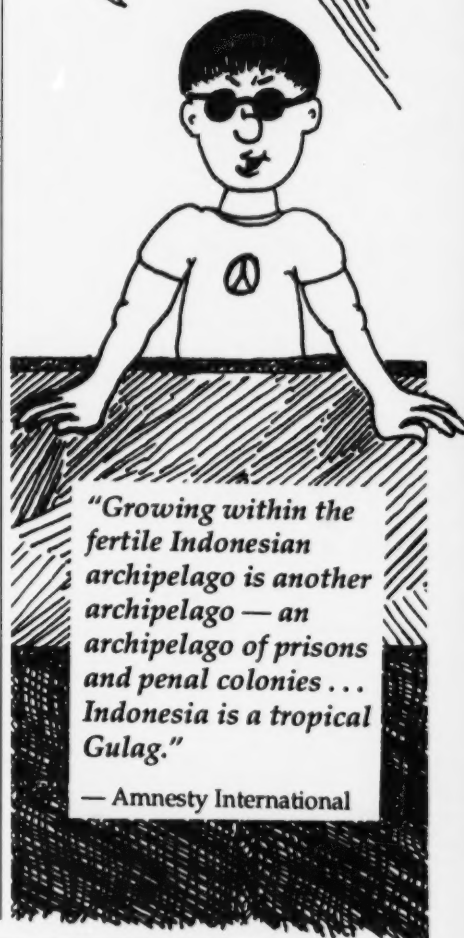
And, let's face it, most news editors don't think the little island of East Timor is worth reporting.



Illustration from This Magazine, November, 1987



We sure haven't heard very much about this in the media. Why not?



"Growing within the fertile Indonesian archipelago is another archipelago — an archipelago of prisons and penal colonies... Indonesia is a tropical Gulag."

— Amnesty International

Well, surely the other countries could have done something. Didn't some of the other countries complain?



So what about the United Nations?
What did they do?

fait accompli *n.*
Thing done and
no longer worth
arguing against.
[F]

— The Concise
Oxford Dictionary

Keeping Mum on Human Rights

Many governments of the Western world, governments which generally consider themselves to be champions of human rights, have a big blot on their record when it comes to East Timor. Australia, the U.S., Britain and the Netherlands were all so concerned with keeping good relations with Indonesia that they turned deaf ears to the cries of the East Timorese. Canada, loyal to its southern ally, the U.S., abstained on all UN votes condemning Indonesia's invasion up until 1980. After 1980, it cast its vote with Indonesia, claiming that East Timor's annexation was a "fait accompli."

Of all of the Western nations, the East Timorese expected the most help from Australia. During WWII, Australian troops landed in Timor to repel the Japanese, and hundreds of Timorese fought side-by-side with the Australians against the Japanese. When the Australians were finally forced to evacuate, the Timorese resistance against the Japanese continued and 40,000 Timorese — one-tenth of the population — were killed or died of starvation. But while the Timorese waited for help from the Australian "mates" they had helped in the war, the Labour government of Gough Whitlam, and Australian governments ever since, have deferred to the wishes of Indonesia.

In December 1989, Australia and Indonesia signed an agreement on the Timor Gap, the channel between East Timor and Australia, allowing them to share the oil and mineral resources between them. Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, and the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, rejected complaints from protesters that this agreement betrayed the rights of the East Timorese. Mr. Alatas said East Timor was not an issue in Indonesia.

In 1991, Portugal started legal proceedings against Australia at the World Court in The Hague, Netherlands. They claim that Australia and Indonesia have no right to take over East Timor's oil resources. The world awaits the court decision on whether the oil of East Timor belongs to the East Timorese.

Parallel Problems: East Timor and Kuwait

In November 1990, Saddam Hussein sent Iraqi forces into the small kingdom of Kuwait, a small nation about the size of East Timor. What was the reaction? Sanctions, failed negotiations, war. While the US and its UN allies sprang into action, the people of East Timor watched with amazement. Why all this action for Kuwait, but no action for East Timor, which was also invaded by a large, hostile neighbour?

The UN: How did the UN respond to the Timorese invasion? In December 1975 and April 1976, UN resolutions were swiftly passed, calling for Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor. Since 1975, ten UN resolutions have been passed reaffirming East Timor's right to independence. But the big western powers did nothing to implement these resolutions. Some governments, including the U.S., Britain and Canada, have continued to sell weapons to Indonesia, weapons which are used against the people of East Timor.

In 1990, Indonesia became a member of the 43-member UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN group with responsibility for upholding international human rights, even though Indonesia, ironically, hasn't ratified the UN Human Rights Convention. To many observers, it seems that the fox has been put in charge of the chickens!

However, there are new, hopeful developments! To read more, turn to "A 'fait accompli'?" on page 28.

East Timor Now: Country or Prison?

Resistance continues. People are arrested, or "disappear". The Indonesians are attempting to control the people through forcibly relocating them in *strategic hamlets* ("campos do concentracao"), where people must carry passes and stay within strictly controlled areas. The Timorese themselves refer to these hamlets as concentration camps.

In 1983 a group of Catholic priests wrote to the Pope to say that

the people of the territory have suffered "moral and physical violence; arbitrary imprisonment; the resettlement of families and whole villages; the execution of those who surrender; executions without trial or summary judgment; disappearances and the destruction of families; the execution of whole groups of those captured; hunger and disease throughout all of East Timor."

October 12, 1989: Pope John Paul II visits East Timor. Speaking to a crowd of 100,000 Timorese on this predominantly Catholic island, he says this: "For many years now, you have experienced destruction and death. You have known what it means to be victims of hatred and struggle." As he leaves, a small group of youths unfurl a protest banner and shout "Viva il papa!" (Long live the pope!) Club-wielding Indonesian police officers beat them back. Many students are later arrested and tortured.

The Official Story: P.R. Galore

Since 1980, the Indonesian Government has instituted a number of new tactics to help the world see their invasion of East Timor in a "friendly" light:

Welcome to Lovely East Timor

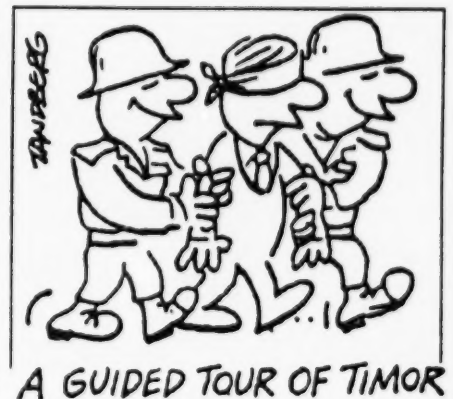
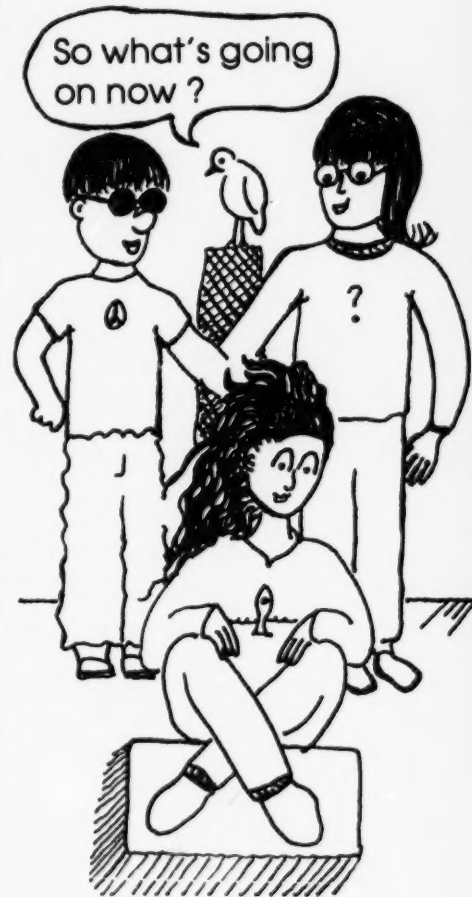
Indonesia attempts to mask the real destruction and resistance in East Timor by staging visits from international journalists and politicians, visits in which the itinerary is strictly limited, and in which all contacts are carried out in the presence of Indonesian military officers.

Here's what Garrie Gibson, an Australian MP who visited East Timor in February 1991, reported:

"We were constantly supervised by a member of military intelligence and Government officials, wherever we travelled. Our hotel in Dili was surrounded at all times by security forces and if any member of the delegation — I did on four separate occasions — left the hotel to walk (to) the local streets and shops, he was followed by three or four intelligence officers. . . . East Timor's whole environment reeks of occupation and suppression."

The Big-Bucks Bribe

The Indonesian government publicises the fact that public expenditure in East Timor is higher, per person, than in any province of Indonesia. Money has been spent on road building, schools, and agriculture. The land given over to plantation crops (coffee, cloves, sugar, coconut, areca, cinnamon, kapok) has doubled. However, the roads are built to assist the army, the schools teach Indonesian (which was not spoken in East Timor), and the new agricultural projects benefit the Indonesian authorities who have taken over most of the land.





The Second-Wave Invasion

Java and Bali, Indonesia's most populated islands, are very crowded. What's more, there is so much inequality in land distribution that many people are landless. What better way to get a bit of breathing space in these crowded islands that to send off some of the landless peasants to settle in East Timor? This policy is called the **transmigration policy**. It means that eventually the people of East Timor, West Papua, and other outlying regions will be minorities in their own lands. (For more on this, see pages 30 to 34.)

Democratic "Participation"

The Indonesian government, concerned to keep up appearances, claims that the East Timorese have actually chosen integration into the Republic of Indonesia (at a 1976 meeting with 36 *representatives* hand-picked by the Indonesian military) and that they are presently participating in Indonesian elections, voting for 4 national deputies and 40 provincial representatives. Unlike the Canadian voting procedure, where unmarked ballots are placed into a single box, in East Timor there's a separate box for each party, so when you vote you display to the officials (including Indonesian military officers) which candidate you have voted for.

It's hardly surprising that GOLKAR, the government party, always wins 99% of the vote. To the amazement of the international community, Canada's ambassador to Indonesia, Jack Whittleton, accompanied the GOLKAR candidate, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, on an election tour through East Timor in 1987, thus lending legitimacy to the fiction that there are "free elections" in East Timor.

A "fait accompli"?

Although western powers such as Canada may have decided that the Indonesian occupation of East Timor is a *fait accompli*, the East Timorese people haven't decided that. With most of their leaders killed, one-third of their population dead and many more weak with starvation, their land decimated by the Indonesians, the East Timorese people continue to fight against the large, modernized and powerful forces unleashed upon it by Indonesia. Fretilin — or the **National Resistance Movement**, as they now prefer to be called — continues to have a wide base of support. As Mgr. da Costa Lopes, the Administrator of the Catholic Church in East Timor, stated in 1983, "Fretilin is the only group fighting for the people, and that earns it the sympathy of the whole people."

Meanwhile, there are signs of hope. In June 1991, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, representing 25 member states, adopted a resolution which imposed an arms embargo on Indonesia. And the European Community has announced its intention to attach new human rights conditions to aid. That means that countries like Indonesia will have to respect human rights if they expect to receive European aid.

Recently Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, told Parliamentarians from around the world that East Timor is just as entitled to exercise its right to self-determination as the people of Namibia and the Western Sahara.

The East Timorese resistance has always been willing to negotiate "without pre-conditions." So far, Indonesia has refused to come to the negotiating table, but human rights groups around the world are pushing for an immediate cease-fire and talks under UN supervision.

Indonesia: Environment under Fire

Like Canada, Indonesia has all kinds of environmental problems. But in Indonesia, where a small number of people have a lot of power, and where foreign companies are welcomed in with few strings attached, the environment is under fire.

The Forests

Indonesia has the second largest rainforest in the world — 173 million hectares, 10% of the total world rainforest. In the last 20 years, 54 million hectares of forests have been lost.

Forestry in Indonesia means big money. The Department of Forestry gives out concessions to forestry companies, and they take over responsibility for logging. The trouble is, they seldom bother with reforestation. Many of the holders of logging concession are military officers who know little about logging, and are eager to chop and run.

Mining Disaster

Rainforests are also destroyed by the search for gold. Over 100 companies have mining concessions in forest areas near rivers, including Ingold, a subsidiary of the Canadian company, Inco (see p. 37). Their gold mines destroy both the forests and the water supplies.

Disaster Flashes

- Indonesia's mangrove swamps — home to many different species of animals and fish, are being replaced by pulp and paper developments and shrimp farms.
- Indonesia's exotic animals are rapidly falling prey to the illegal commerce in exotic animals. Traded through Singapore, many animals die in transit.

Exporting Forest

- Indonesia supplies 70% of the world's plywood and 40% of its tropical hardwood.
- In 1988, Canada imported \$130 million in tropical hardwood. \$50 million of this was from Indonesia

Great Scott!

— *A Semi-Successful Pressure Story*

In 1987, Scott Paper Company, one of the largest American producers of disposal paper products, announced plans to invest \$660 million US to cut down 200,000 hectares of West Papuan natural forest and plant a eucalyptus plantation. The trees would be hauled to the pulp and paper factory they planned to build in nearby Merauke. Scott wasn't too worried about the people who lived in those 200,000 hectares, the Marind, Yei and Kanun people.

International environmental groups swung into the action, and thousands of people wrote letters to Scott Paper. In October 1989, Scott finally announced that they had changed their minds, and would not undertake the operation in West Papua.

However, in November 1990, while environmentalists were still congratulating themselves, the Indonesian Forestry Minister announced that the project will go ahead with Indonesian funding.

?

A Question of Survival:

Indonesia's Tribal People and Their Environment

Indonesia:

a Resourceful Land

- rich mineral resources
- enormous forests (second only to Brazil in area of primary rainforest)
- fish, birds, wildlife....

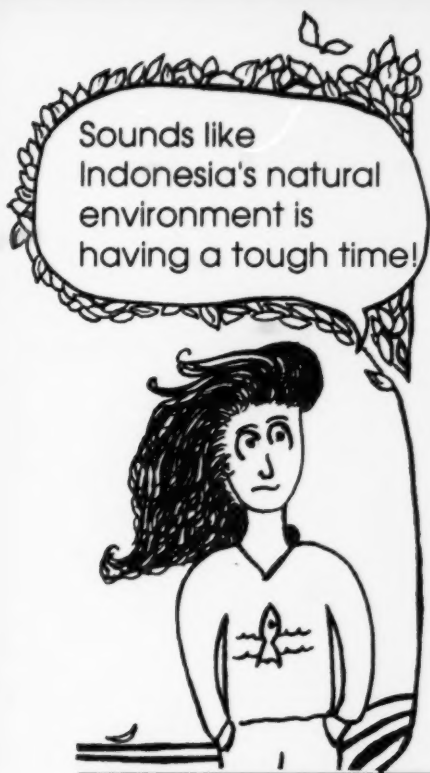
Sounds like paradise!



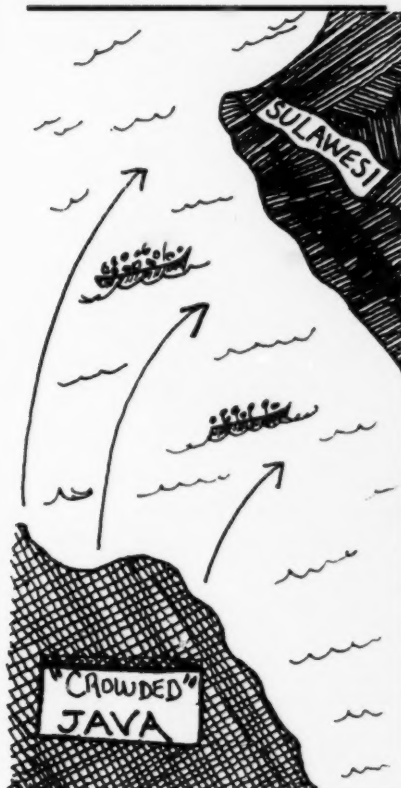
Well, it is a kind of paradise, but not for many Indonesians. The fact is, the people who are "extracting" Indonesia's resources are large, multinational companies, or companies controlled by a handful of wealthy Indonesians. When they extract Indonesia's rich resources for shipment to the First World, they don't give much thought to the land or the people who live there.

For more environmental disaster news, see pages 17 and 31.

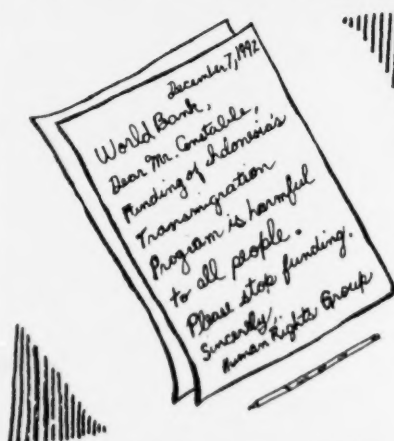
The Indonesia Kit



But Indonesia's worst environmental disasters are the result of a government policy — **transmigration**.



The Transmigration Program



Every time the World Bank meets, international environmental and human rights organizations meet, too, and request that the Bank halt its funding for Indonesia's Transmigration Program.

However, the World Bank, to which Canada is a contributor, continues to fund the Transmigration Program, in spite of an increasing chorus of complaints from people around the world.

Transmigration: What is it?

Transmigration is the Indonesian government's answer to two major problems:

— the population problem —

Indonesia has a problem of population distribution. Over 60 percent of Indonesians live in Java, whose land area is less than 7 percent of Indonesia.

And Java is crowded. The population density of Java is 700 people per square kilometer, while in Sumatra the density is 63 people per square kilometer, and in West Papua 3 people per square kilometer. The land of Java is not equally distributed; *one percent of farmers own one-third of Java's land*. However, land redistribution might cause upset among Java's elite, including the powerful Suharto family.

— the control problem —

Many of Indonesia's non-Javanese people — people with different customs, different languages, different appearance — are dangerously close to revolt against Indonesian rule.

trans-mi-grate
(trans mi'grate) v.i.,
1. to move or pass
from one place to
another.

"Eureka, a solution! I'll call it Transmigration!"



The Indonesian "Solution":

Why not ship millions of Javan peasants to the outer islands, where there are huge areas of unoccupied land? That way you'll spread the population around, and repress and "civilize" the tribal people at the same time! With the help of funds from the World Bank and other western agencies, 250,000 Javans are now being moved each year to occupy land in the outer islands.

TRANSMIGRATION: The Costs

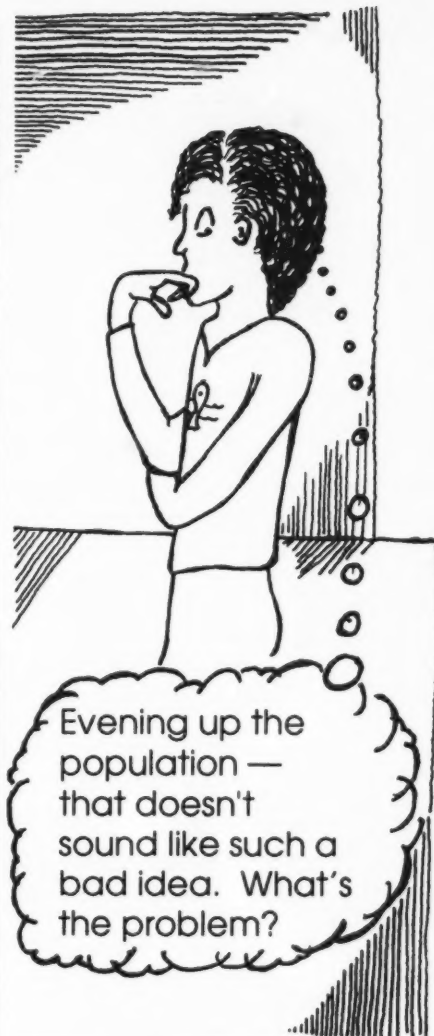
\$\$\$ The Cost in Forests \$\$\$

There are two kinds of agriculture in Indonesia. *Sawah* agriculture, practiced in the rich soils of Java and Bali, uses systems of intensive, irrigation-fed agriculture to produce bountiful harvests of rice.

The agricultural practices of tribal people on the Outer Islands are very different. Much of this land is rainforest, and, except for a few places where intensive agriculture is possible, the tribal people practice *ladang* agriculture, or shifting cultivation. They slash and burn a small area of the forest, plant food crops for a few years, then move on to another patch, leaving the first area to regain its nutrients. Often they replant a garden area with small seedlings before moving on. This system — which is scorned as wasteful and primitive by the Indonesian government — is actually the *only* way in which sustainable agriculture can be carried on in the rainforest. For rainforest soil, unlike the rich soil of Java, is poor and fragile. Its nutrients are on the surface. Once the forest cover is disturbed, it's vulnerable to erosion. In the Transmi-

gration Program, thousands of Javanese settlers are put in the rainforest and encouraged to practice *Sawah* agriculture.

Ten percent of the world's remain rainforest is in Indonesia. Indonesia has been called "one of the biologically most significant areas of the world." It has 500 mammal species, 100 of which are found only in Indonesia, and 1,480 bird species, one-quarter of which are Indonesian. A recent study by three Indonesian Government departments concluded that the transmigration program is likely to cause the loss of an area of forest the size of Belgium during the current five-year plan. Most of this rainforest land is unable to support the intensive *sawah* methods and becomes unusable; the settlers must either find other occupations, or move on to yet another patch of rainforest. By 1984, 8.6 million hectares of forest were officially classified as "critical land", land which was so degraded that it couldn't grow anything, could not even absorb water.



Tales from the Darkside: Transmigration Horrors

The Lampung Lament

80 percent of the residents of Lampung, Southern Sumatra, are migrants. They have devastated Lampung, cutting and burning forests. The result? Flash floods, soil erosion, and silting up of Lake Jepara, a major source of irrigation. Sections of the transmigration project have also been devastated by herds of migrating elephants.

(Secrett "The Environmental Impact of Transmigration")

The Kalimantan Crackle

In 1982/83 the worst forest fire in recorded history took place in the forests of Kalimantan (Borneo). For nine months it raged, destroying 3.6 million hectares of rainforest, before the monsoon rains finally quenched it. In late 1987, more forest fires sprang up in Kalimantan, destroying at least 2,000 hectares of plantations and settlement areas. Why all these fires? Waste logs left from logging operations lie on the ground acting as tinder.

(Achmadi, "Forest Fires," *Inside Indonesia*, April 1988)

When you're thinking about population density, it's not enough to think about the number of hectares available. You have to think about

- the quality of the land — is it able to support a heavy human population?
- the present use of the land — are there reasons to preserve rainforest?
- the people you are displacing — who owns this land you are planning to settle? What will this influx of settlers do to their culture?

"By way of Transmigration, we will try to ... integrate all the ethnic groups into one nation, the Indonesian nation ... The different ethnic groups will in the long run disappear because of integration ... and ... there will be one kind of man ..."

(Mr. Martono, Minister for Transmigration, March 20, 1985)

One kind of man!
Hasn't the Indonesian government heard about multi-culturalism?
This is terrible!



Before you get too self-righteous about Canada's record, think for a minute about the way white settlers in Canada treated the Canadian native people. Do you see any parallels?



\$\$\$ The Cost in Cultures \$\$\$

Multiculturalism. It's a popular word in Canada, but not in Indonesia, where the government's goal is to create "one kind of man". And that "one kind of man", it seems, is a western-oriented Javanese.

Over 2 million of Indonesia's people are tribal people, who look, think, dress, and act differently from western-oriented Javans. In Indonesia, these people — people who have lived in close harmony with their environment for thousands of years — are called *suku suku terasing* (isolated and alien peoples) or *suku suku terbelakang* (isolated and backward peoples). According to one government memorandum, these people need to be changed because

- they use "simple nomadic" farming practices which "devastate the environment";
- contrary to the State Philosophy, which requires that people believe in one God, they are animists;
- they don't wear enough clothing;
- their diet is "inadequate";
- their dwellings are "far below the norms";

- their health conditions are "far below generally accepted norms";
- their art and culture "has merely achieved a very primitive level";
- "they are not contributing anything towards the progress of the Nation and State".

(Indonesian Government document quoted in Colchester. "Unity and Diversity")

In other words, they are different from the Javanese. And, to the Indonesian government, they are a poor reflection upon Indonesia's development.

"The fact that there are still isolated and remote peoples, developing at too slow a pace, can affect a nation's prestige and the dignity of man in that country. Therefore the problem must be tackled."

(Government document, *ibid.*)

The government's number one program for transforming these "ignorant savages" into Javanese is the Transmigration Program.

"Civilizing the Savage"— 4 Easy Steps

First, you take away their land.

Land is very important to the tribal people. They believe that the ancestors made the land at the beginning of time, and they must pass the land on to their children in good condition. East Timorese speak of "our children who are still in the soil." While Javanese officials dismiss the land of islands such as West Papua or Sulawesi as "vacant" or "un-used", in fact this land is neither. In order to practice the shifting agriculture method, a lot of land is needed to ensure that the land doesn't become eroded and exhausted. Tribal people also use the forest for hunting, medicines, gathering wild nuts and fruit, and house-building materials.

Indonesian agricultural and forestry policy is carefully worded to deny land rights to tribal people. According to the Basic Forestry Law of 1967:

"The rights of traditional-law communities may not be allowed to stand in the way of the establishment of Transmigration settlements."

In addition to the transmigration settlements, huge contracts are handed out to logging companies, allowing them to deforest large areas.

Second, you move them into Javanese communities.

In many of the more recent Transmigration Schemes, local people are also resettled. Once the land is taken away, the tribal people are resettled on small tracts of their own land, but in communities where they are in the minority, and where the Javanese settlers ridicule their strange customs and dress. In West Papua, where the tribal people have fought a war of resistance for over 20 years, the Indonesian government plans to resettle 13,000 heads of families every year. In twelve years, the 800,000 West Papuans will all be resettled. They will also be a minority in their own land, as West Papua is targetted to receive hundreds of thousands of Javan settlers in the next few years.

Third, you outlaw their religion and culture.

If you're a Kantu person from Kalimantan, and you're about to get married, you'll be feeling a little blue right now. The traditional marriage ceremony of the Kantu people — a culturally rich ceremony, involving the generous exchange of gifts — has recently been banned by the Indonesian government.

This is only one of many banned cultural activities. The long hair and tribal markings, the distinctive tribal dress are ridiculed and, in some cases, outlawed. Traditional healing practices and rituals are out, and, in an effort to get these "primitive animists" to worship one God, missionary groups such as the New Tribes Mission, internationally notorious for programs of forced conversion, have been given a free hand.

Education is helping "Indonesianise" the tribal children. The language of instruction is Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian national language, and the material is Java-based.

Even housing is prescribed along Javanese lines. The intricately-designed longhouses of the tribal people, developed over centuries of living in these islands, are considered by the government to be "unhygienic and uncivilised", and many of them have been burned. People living in the settlements may only use standardized single-family dwellings built out of planks and corrugated metal.

Fourth, you subject them to a system of military hierarchy.

Hierarchy: that's a word we're hearing more of these days in Canada, usually in a negative context. It refers to a top-down structure, where one person makes the decisions, which are passed down through layers of authority. Tribal communities are generally *non-hierarchical* and *cooperative* in their structure. This, as far as the Indonesian government is concerned, made them difficult to control. Thus, by mixing them in small proportions with Javan settlers, removing their customs and land, and subjecting them to the authority of a military commander (and in Indonesia, most regional officials are required to be military personnel), you've got them fairly-well crushed. For those "trouble spots" still remaining, such as East Timor and West Papua, there is always the *Saptamarga* Model, where a high proportion of active or retired members of the Armed Forces are assigned to mingle in the settlement and keep things under control.



It sounds pretty awful!
Can the tribal people
survive?



What is the World Bank
doing about all of this?



Tribal People: What Does the Future Hold?

For some of the tribal people, Indonesia's policies have meant continued armed resistance, the only way they can see to survive. For others, it has meant lives made miserable by changes in diet, malnutrition because the land cannot sustain their agriculture, and disease, as they come into contact with new diseases and are settled in malaria-infested areas. Some may be "successfully integrated" into Indonesian life. For many observers, the Indonesian government's policy on tribal peoples appears to be one of physical and cultural genocide.

The World Bank: No Friend of Tribal Peoples

The World Bank supports the Transmigration Policy, continuing to inject it with large transfusions of funds (over \$300 million since 1978). The Bank does have guidelines which call for the protection of environment, and of tribal people. But it seems willing to over-ride its own guidelines in this instance. Why? Since Suharto's military coup in 1965, the western powers have lent their support to Indonesia consistently, regardless of Indonesia's policies. Much of this can probably be explained in terms of Indonesia's enormous resources, and her strategic position in Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, the huge jungle trees crash through the brush, to the alarmed cries of the birds and animals. And the tribal people, who constitute one-third of the remaining tribal people in the world, are shorn of their hair, their customs, and their livelihood.



Indonesia & Development Refugees

What does *development* mean? Usually, we think of development as something which will help people improve their lives. But not always. In Indonesia, where development is often planned to suit the needs of a few wealthy people, development often means hardship for peasants, tribal people, and the urban poor. People who are forced off their land by huge dam, logging or mining projects become refugees from development, forced into already overcrowded cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya to try to make a living. Even if they do manage to scrape out a living in the city, they may find that their future is threatened by urban development.

de - vel - op (di vel' op),
v.t. 1. to bring out the capabilities or possibilities of; bring to a more advanced or effective state. 2. to cause to grow or expand.

(The Random House College Dictionary)

Dam Displacement

The Kedung Ombo dam in Central Java, funded by the World Bank, has displaced over 5,000 families. Many have received little or no compensation. Although government regulations require some consultation with the people involved, the Kedung farmers were never consulted. Instead, the farmers claim that they have been constantly harassed and threatened.

Pushed Out by Plastics

The people of Lomanis village in West Java have been moved three times since 1971 to make way for 'development,' and are now about to move again. They used to be farmers, but each time they have been moved, the size of their land plots has been reduced. Now, the only way they can make a living is by working as labourers.

This time, they are being moved to make way for a plastics factory, to be managed by a consortium including Pertamina (the national petroleum company) and Shell. The villagers are protesting to the government, and hope that this time they may get to stay in their homes.

All Logged Out

The Mentawai people of the island of Siberut off West Sumatra are losing their ancient rainforest to a logging company from the Philippines. As well, there are plans for further clearing for an oil-palm project. To round things off, the island is being invaded by tourists, come to view a few sample tribal people.

?????

DEVELOPMENT — What Is It?

Asking Some Tricky Questions

It seems like when we think about "development," we have to ask: Who benefits? Who pays?





Before you get too smug, think about it. Can you think of any Canadians who have been displaced by development?

Operation "Hopeful Future"

If you visited Jakarta a few years ago, you might have a ride in a *becak*, a bicycle-driven cab. *Becaks* were the equivalent of taxis. Many of the poor men of Jakarta made their living by transporting people. Often, the *becak* drivers were farmers who were forced off their land by other projects.

Between 1985 and 1989, 73,715 *becaks* were dumped into Jakarta Bay, 129,000 more were impounded. Why? The government decided the *becaks* got in the way of cars, and gave Indonesia a "third world image." Traders and street vendors have also been cleared from the streets to "tidy up" Jakarta's image.

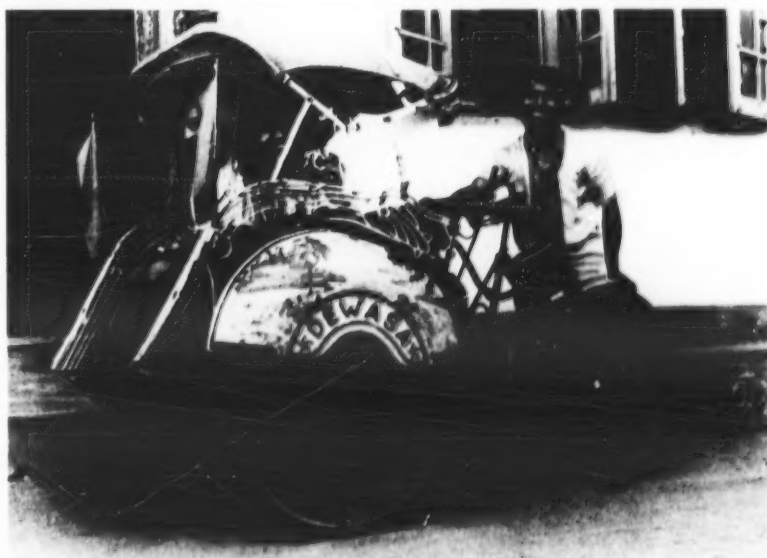
For the *becak* drivers, the street vendors and their families, "Operation Hopeful Future," is not very hopeful. Jakarta is tidy, but they are left without any way of making a living.

Teed Off

For decades, farmers in Cimacan village, West Java, have cultivated vegetables on their plots of fertile land. Then the village authorities decided to lease 32 hectares of the land to PT BAM, a large golf-course developer.

In 1988, the farmers were forcibly ejected from their land by company bulldozers. They went to court, but even though the court ruled that they could use some of the land until the matter was settled, PT BAM once again bulldozed through their fields and homes.

The Cimacan farmers are not the only ones who must move over for large tourist developments. In Parang Tritis, on the south coast of Java, villagers were moved from their beach-side homes to a site that resembles a prison camp. The amount of compensation paid by the government wasn't enough to build new homes. In Lombok, an island near Bali, 500 seaweed collectors protested government plans to move them away from the shore to make way for 20 luxury hotels.



Becak drivers: an extinct species.

\$\$\$\$\$\$

Investments:

Canada is the fifth largest investor in Indonesia. There are over 300 Canadian companies operating in manufacturing, importing, and consulting, including ten companies involved in weapons production.

Markets:

Canada sells five times as much to Indonesia as it imports. The reason? A generous "tied-aid" policy which ensures that Indonesia will buy Canadian goods.

Canada's military sales to Indonesia since 1975 include ammunition, military vehicles, transport planes and Pratt & Whitney engines for Bell helicopters being assembled in Indonesia. In the fall of 1984, the Canadian External Affairs Department hosted an arms bazaar in Jakarta to promote the wares of 10 major Canadian weapons manufacturers. In August 1991, Indonesia was invited to Abbotsford Airshow Canada '91, a showcase for international arms traders.

Trade

To date, the Canadian government has invested more than a billion dollars in Indonesia in the form of export development credits, tax credits, and direct subsidies to Canadian corporations. One of the primary recipients of these benefits financed by the Canadian public is Inco.

A Canadian Company in Indonesia

PT Inco Indonesia

Since 1967 Inco—a giant Canadian mining company — has been active in Indonesia through its Indonesian subsidiary, PT Inco Indonesia. One of its major operations is a huge open-pit nickel mine in what was once pristine rainforest at Soroako, Sulawesi. Profits at the mine are good (\$205 million in 1988), but the workers don't share in the wealth; wages range from \$1,200 to \$3,000 a year. Since the mine started, there have been frequent layoffs to cut company costs. In 1982, when workers protested the lay-offs, the army was called in and workers forced to accept the company line. Said the military commander: "We were able to solve this problem thanks to the generosity and tolerance of PT Inco."

August 31, 1990: The PT Inco Indonesia smelter in Soroako, Sulawesi, explodes. Six men are killed, and 4

badly injured. The accident is thought to be caused by a water leak in the furnace.

In the 1980s, PT Inco reduced its spending on mining costs by 66%; perhaps some of the cost-cuts included safety measures. No one will ever know the real cause of the explosion, because there is no inquiry. *Jakarta Post* doesn't report the deaths.

Late 1990: PT Inco Indonesia announced that it will pursue gold explorations in the Oksibil region of West Papua. The area is rainforest, and inhabited by Ngalum people. If a mine is developed, the Ngalum, whose life is based on the rainforest, will have nowhere to go.

At the end of its 20-year contract, INCO expects to make profits of \$6 billion, and Indonesia will receive \$840 million in tax revenues.

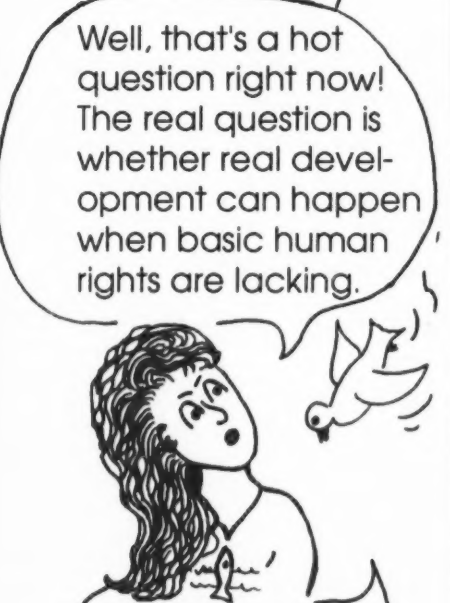
Canada & Indonesia

So what's Canada doing about all of this?

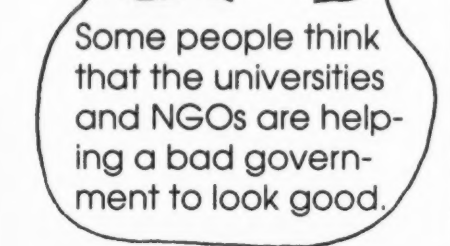




So what's the problem with Canadian companies and universities and NGOs being involved with development in Indonesia? Aren't they helping the Indonesians?



Well, that's a hot question right now! The real question is whether real development can happen when basic human rights are lacking.



Some people think that the universities and NGOs are helping a bad government to look good.

Lavalin International

A wholly Canadian-owned engineering firm, Lavalin, has been in Indonesia for 10 years, partially financed by the World Bank and CIDA. Although Lavalin sells equipment to Indonesia and helps build steam power plants, their primary speciality is the feasibility study. Is it feasible to build a pulp mill in Sarong, West Papua? What electrical requirements does the province of Aceh have? What are the best transmigration sites in West Papua? Does West Papua need more roads to facilitate exports? The answers to these and other questions, from the Lavalin perspective, is "bring on more development."

** In August 1991, Lavalin International was taken over by its main competitor, the SNC Group Inc., another Québec-based engineering multinational.*

Asmera Oil Indonesia

Since 1961, the Calgary-based Asmera has invested in Indonesian oil and gas. The company has control of 2.5 million acres of land in South Sumatra and a large area in North Sumatra. Peter Maynes, Asmera's manager of corporate relations, calls Indonesia "perhaps the best place in the world to invest" in the oil and gas industry, "and perhaps the best rate of return."

Bata Shoes

Bata, a Canadian-based multinational shoe company, employs 2,000 people in two Indonesian factories — one in Jakarta and one in north Sumatra. In 1979, 1500 Indonesian Bata workers carried out a one-day sit-down strike to get a 30% wage increase. At Bata's orders, armed soldiers brutally smashed the strike. Currently, Bata's wages are US \$65 per month.

Aid

- Indonesia is the third-largest recipient of Canadian aid. From 1987 to 1994, bilateral (aid given directly to the Indonesian government) is expected to reach \$377 million. Some of this aid goes to support Transmigration, and is administered by military authorities.

- Many large Canadian universities have CIDA contracts to undertake work in Indonesia, often in projects related to Transmigration. They include:

- Dalhousie University: \$34.3 million for Environmental Management;
- Simon Fraser University: \$22.07 million for education and training of Indonesian students;
- University of British Columbia: \$482,000 to support a Resource/Policy unit, the Indonesia Information Centre;
- Guelph University: \$54.5 million (and perhaps more to come) to "strengthen planning and implementing institutions" in Sulawesi.

In many of these universities, there is a history of disagreement among faculty and students about whether the universities should be involved with Indonesia. Are the universities really helping Indonesians, or are they helping to support a repressive government? The Senate of Guelph University, for instance, spent part of 1991 debating whether they should accept CIDA funding for further projects in Indonesia. The University of Toronto in 1991 decided not to accept any more CIDA funding for work in Indonesia.

- Many Canadian NGOs (non-governmental organizations) receive CIDA funding to carry out development programs in Indonesia. According to the Indonesian Social Organizations Act, all money to be used by NGOs must be funnelled through official channels — i.e. the Indonesian military government.

- Canada is a member of the Inter-Governmental Groups on Indonesia, which has supported the Suharto Government, since 1965, with large loans. Canada also contributes to the World Bank which frequently finances large mega-projects, such as Transmigration (page 30) and the Kedung Ombo Dam (page 35).

East Timor

Since 1980, Canada has accepted the Indonesian occupation of East Timor as a "fait accompli" and opposes UN resolutions for a withdrawal of Indonesian troops and self-determination for East Timor. Canada is also working hard on Indonesia's behalf to get the East Timor issue removed from all UN agenda, including the Human Rights Commission.

- CIDA, the Canadian International Development Agency, recently announced that it would fund Canadian non-governmental organizations wanting to open up programs in East Timor.

- The official Canadian line on East Timor:
"External Affairs...argued that the high death toll in East Timor was largely a result of starvation, disease and exposure due to mass relocations resulting from the abrupt departure of the Portuguese colonial administration, and not a result of systematic killing."

(Victoria Times-Colonist, May 19, 1989)



Although Canada may consider the occupation of East Timor to be a "fait accompli," the East Timorese people feel that they must continue to struggle for the independence of their country.



Well, don't give up! More and more people are speaking out on these issues, putting pressure on the Indonesian government to revise their human rights policies, to preserve their rainforest, to protect the cultures of their tribal peoples, and putting pressure on the Canadian government to support positive change in Indonesia. To find out how you can help, read on. . .

It's all so terrible and overwhelming! What can I do?



Here are 16 Canadian MPs who are doing something!

Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor:

Dawn Black, (NDP)
 Bill Blaikie, (NDP)
 John Brewin, Victoria (NDP)
 Sheila Copps (Liberal)
 Ray Funk, (NDP)
 Beryl Gaffney (Liberal)
 Barbara Green, (Conservative)
 Dan Heap, (NDP)
 Lynn Hunter, Saanich & the Islands (NDP)
 David Kilgore, (Liberal)
 Howard McCurdy, (NDP)
 David MacDonald (Conservative)
 John Manly, (Liberal)
 Svend Robinson, NDP
 Christine Stewart, (Liberal)
 Dave Stupich, Nanaimo (NDP)

Organizations

In Canada:

ACT (Act for Disarmament)

Human Rights Committee

P.O. Box 562, Stn. P
 Toronto, Ontario M5S 2K9
 Phone: (416) 531-6154

Amnesty International

130 Slater Street, Suite 900
 Ottawa, Ontario K1P 9Z9

CAWG (Canada-Asia Working Group)

11 Madison Avenue
 Toronto, Ontario M5R 2S2
 Phone: (416) 921-5626

East Timor Alert Network (ETAN)

#104 - 2120 West 44th Avenue,
 Vancouver, B.C. V6M 2G2
 Phone: (604) 264-9973

Probe International

225 Brunswick Avenue
 Toronto, Ontario M5S 2M6
 Phone: (416) 978-7014

South Pacific Peoples

Foundation of Canada (SPPF)

415 - 620 View Street,
 Victoria, B.C. V8W 1J6.
 Phone: (604) 381-4131.

Outside Canada:

Asia Watch

485 Fifth Avenue
 NY, NY 10017, USA

Australian Council for Overseas Aid Human Rights Office

124 Napier Street
 Fitzroy 3065, Australia
(Monitor East Timor very closely; publish good information)

Cultural Survival

53A Church Street,
 Cambridge MA 02138-9990
 US

Free East Timor Japan Coalition

c/o Kure YWCA,
 3 - 1 Saiwai-cho,
 Kure, Hiroshima 737, Japan

Fundacao Borja da Costa

(Fretilin GIF)
 Rua Caetano Alberto 19,
 1000 Lisboa, Portugal
(Publish good monthly newsletter)

Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights (Infight)

Jl Tebet Dalam 1G, No. 35,
 Jakarta 12810, Indonesia

Parliamentarians for East Timor

International Secretariat,
 244A Upper Street,
 London, N1 1RU, UK

SKEPHI

PO Box 88 JATRA
 Jati Ruwamangun
 Jakarta Timur, Indonesia

Survival International

310 Edgware Road
 London W2 1DY, UK

TAPOL

Address next page — Journals.

What You Can Do

- Learn more: read some of the resources listed.
- Talk it up! Your friends should know about this, too.
- Write and lobby your MP on Canadian aid to Indonesia, as well as Canada's UN stance on East Timor and West Papua. Urge him or her to join Parliamentarians for East Timor.
- Write to the editors of newspapers and magazines to let them know your views on Indonesia.

- Monitor Canadian NGOs. If they are supporting projects in Indonesia — particularly in West Papua (Irian Jaya) or East Timor — ask them some tough questions. They need to consider whether their projects are really helping the people of these regions, or serving to legitimize a repressive government.
- Get together a group to do some awareness-raising in your community.
- Support one of the organizations listed above.

Selected Resources:

Books & Articles

Indonesia: History, Politics and Culture

Caldwell, Malcolm and Utrecht, Ernst. *Indonesia, An Alternative History*. Australia: Maxwell Printing Co. Ltd, 1979

Caldwell, Malcolm (ed.) *Ten Years Military Terror in Indonesia*. Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1975

Cribb, Robert (Ed.). *The Indonesian Killings, 1965 - 1966*. Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia, 1990

Dalton, Bill. *Indonesia Handbook*, 4th Edition. California: Moon Publications, 1988

Feith, Herbert. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. NY: Cornell University Press, 1962

New Internationalist, October 1982

Scobie, Harry & Wisebert, Laurie. *The Struggle for Human Rights in South East Asia*. London: Zed Books, 1985

Southwood, Julie and Flanagan, Patrick. *Indonesia: Law, Propaganda and Terror*. London: Zed Press, 1983

West Papua



Anti-Slavery Society. *West Papua: Plunder in Paradise*. 180 Brixton Rd., London SW9 6AT, 1991

Budiardjo, Carmel and Liem, Soie Liong. *West Papua: The Obliteration of a People*. London: Tapol, 1988.

Monbiot, George. *Poisoned Arrows: an Investigative Journey Through Indonesia*. London: Michael Joseph, 1989.

Skephi (NGO Network for Forest Conservation in Indonesia), *A Complete Account on Irian* — Jan.-June 1990 issue of Setiakawan. Available from Tapol (See address under Journals)

East Timor:

Amnesty International. *East Timor: Update on Human Rights Concerns*, August 1990

Amnesty International. *East Timor: Violations of Human Rights*, 1985

Brière, E. "A Country Now Forgotten." *This Magazine*, June/July 1991

Brière, E. & Devaney, D. "Development and Death in East Timor." *Briarpatch*, March 1991

Brière, E. & Devaney, D. "East Timor and Canadian Complicity in Genocide." *Canadian Dimension*, October 1990

Canada-Asia Working Group. *Human Rights in Asia: Submission to the 47th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights*. Toronto, February 1991

Chomsky, Noam. "East Timor: Genocide on the Sly." In *Towards a New Cold War*, Pantheon Books, 1982

Dunn, James. *Timor: A People Betrayed*. Australia: Jacaranda Press, 1983.

Helwig, Maggie. "Transmissions," *This Magazine*, June/July 1991

Horta, Jose Ramos. *The Unfinished Saga of East Timor*. New Jersey: Red Sea Press Inc., 1987

IWGIA, *East Timor: The Struggle Continues*. IWGIA Document 50. Available from International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, Foilstraede 10, DK 1171, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Joliffe, Jill. *East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism*. Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1978

Mo, Timothy. *The Redundancy of Courage* (novel about East Timor). London: Chatto & Windus, 1991

Taylor, John. *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor*. London: Zed Books and Pluto Press, 1991

Environment & Tribal Peoples:

The Ecologist, Vol. 16, No. 2/3, 1986 (*Banking on Disaster: Indonesia's Transmigration Programme* — entire issue)

Canada & Indonesia

Brière, E. "Canada and Indonesia: Feeding the Cyclops", *Briarpatch*, May 1988, pp. 20 - 23.

Zachary, A. "As the Trade Winds Blow", *This Magazine*, March/April 1987, pp. 23 - 27.

Journals



A Paz é Posível em Timor-Leste. Quarterly journal (in French) on East Timor. Rua de Campolide, 215 - 4D, 1000 Lisbon, Portugal.

Down to Earth, Campaign for Ecological Justice in Indonesia. Excellent Newsletter available from Down to Earth, P.O. Box 213, London SE5 7LU, UK.

Environesia. Journal on environmental issues in Indonesia. Published by WALHI, J. Penjernihan 1/15, Kompleks Keuangan, Pejompongan, Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia 10210

Inside Indonesia. Glossy full-colour quarterly journal — P.O. Box 190, Northcote, 3070 Australia

Tapol Bulletin. Bi-monthly newsletter available from TAPOL, 111 Northwood Rd., Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8HW, U.K.

Timor Link. Occasional publication from Catholic Institute for International Relations, 22 Coleman Fields, London, N1 7AF, UK

Videos



East Timor: Betrayed but Not Beaten, 30 min., Directed by Peter Monet, from V-Tape, 183 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5T 2R7 Ph: (416) 360-0781

Papua Merdeka! (Free Papua!), 40 min., Directed by Peter Monet, from V-Tape, address above.

Computer Networking

Reg. Indonesia and Reg. Easttimor are available through Web, #104 - 401 Richmond St. West, Toronto, Ontario V5V 3A8. Phone: (416) 596-0212

Group Questions & Activities

Critiquing Colonialism

The celebrations of 1992 have caused many people to question whether European "discovery" and colonialism are causes of celebration or mourning. Look at the questions raised on pages 3 and 4. What present problems have been caused by patterns begun under colonialism in Indonesia? in Canada? in the world?

Canada & Indonesia

Canada's human rights policy seems to be selective in its censure. Simulate a meeting between the following:

- a Canadian member of Amnesty International or other human rights organization;
- a Canadian Member of Parliament (governing party);
- a Canadian businessman engaged in selling electronic equipment to Indonesia;
- a Canadian worker engaged in making electronic equipment;
- an Indonesian government official;
- a Timorese refugee.

Try to fairly represent the arguments of all of these people (you may want to have a back-up group for each of the speakers, to make suggestions). Then discuss this question: *To what extent should human rights considerations influence Canada's aid and trade policy?*

What Can I Do?

In a group, brainstorm a list of possible actions to encourage democratic change in Indonesia — from the perspectives of person, group and nation. Looking at your list and at the suggestions on page 40, evaluate all the possibilities, and try to come up with a specific action plan.

Human Sculpture: Rice or Guns?

Here is a scenario from Indonesia:

In a poor section of Jakarta, a group of Muslim students are discussing their next move. Some of their group have recently been imprisoned for participating in a demonstration in which they supported peasants being evicted from their land for a large agricultural export project. The students know that if they continue in their demonstrations, more of them will be imprisoned. And for what? The newspapers are not allowed to report their demonstrations. Yet, if they do nothing, their fellow students will feel abandoned, and Indonesians will continue to be forced off their land.

In another section of Jakarta, meanwhile, General Suharto and his ministers are negotiating a loan from a western banking consortium. Students and peasants have been restive lately, and there's more trouble in East Timor. The generals need more money for arms. It's true that the debt is growing, but exports will just have to expand to take care of the payments.

Take a role:

- the Muslim students
- the Generals
- the rich, land-owning Indonesians
- the landless peasants
- representative of large western multinational which wants to export palm oil from Indonesia
- the western banking community
- the Canadian government

- Form a human sculpture, in which each group is represented by one or more people. Use your bodies to show what the power relationship is here. (e.g. the land-owning Indonesians may be slipping money into the pockets of the Generals, who have guns, pointed at the students, etc.)
- Look at the figure on page 13 (The Vicious Spiral: Militarization & Underdevelopment). Go through step by step, showing what effect each step will have on your sculpture.
- Now, look for solutions. What changes will have to happen for the spiral to be reversed? If one actor changes his or her stance, what effect will this have on the rest of the sculpture?

Tribal People I

Indonesia is not the only nation to insist on the integration or obliteration of its tribal people. Spend some time discussing the tribal people of the world. Try to analyze whether there are elements in common between all the tribal people of the world, and what those elements are. What factors have led to the obliteration of tribal peoples in all areas of the world? Do the tribal people have lessons for the rest of us?

Tribal People II

Compare attitudes to tribal people in Indonesia and in Canada, both historically and now. (Look at pages 32 to 34 for background information.)



People & Resources

Jakarta Post

May 4, 1991

Adat Law: Who Owns the Resources?

Professor A.P. Parlindungan of Indonesia comments on conflict over resource use. In Kalimantan and West Papua (Irian Jaya), "the people eat sago and sago trees are found in the forests. But now the land in the forests has been fenced (by the forest concession holders) so that people who want to harvest sago face difficulties." Prof. Parlindungan calls for the re-implementation of *adat law* — an old Javanese concept which recognizes the land and economic rights of indigenous peoples.

Discuss the question: *Is there any place for Adat Law within a capitalist system?* (Think of this question in the context of both Indonesia and Canada.)

Orwell Re-Visited

"We don't practice censorship. We don't need it as the press has learned to censor itself."

— Mr. Harmoko, Indonesian Minister of Information, 1990

Refer to pages 8, 9, 12, and 25, all of which refer to media coverage of Indonesia — both internally and externally. To what extent, in your view, is the media responsible for covering up human rights abuses in Indonesia?

Consider these events:

1975: Indonesian troops invade the tiny nation of East Timor.

1990: Iranian troops invade the tiny nation of Kuwait.

What differences in response do you note from the international media in their coverage of these two events? Why the difference? To what extent do you think that our media "censor themselves"? What changes should be made?

Nationhood

August 26, 1991: Canada announces that it will establish diplomatic ties with the Baltic States — Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Meanwhile, Canada continues to struggle with her own questions of nationhood, as Québec and First Nations claim they are distinct societies.

In Indonesia, millions of dollars are spent on arms to suppress incipient nations claiming their own distinct status. Look at page 5, and at the sections on West Papua and East Timor.

Compare the situations of these 3 nations — the USSR, Canada and Indonesia — as they struggle with issues of nationhood and self-determination. Are we entering a new age of small nations? Discuss the changes which large nations may have to make.

Development — for Whose Benefit?

Look at a local "hot" development issue in your community. Answer these questions:

- Who are the people affected?
- Who makes the decisions?
- Who benefits?
- Who loses?

Now move over to Indonesia. On page 35 to 36 are 5 case studies. In each case, ask the 4 questions above.

What aspects of the development decision-making process in Canada and Indonesia are the same? different? What are some solutions to the problems caused by the encroachment of development?

Neo-Colonialism

On page 14 an Indonesian reflects on new forms of colonialism in his country. What forms of neo-colonialism exist in present-day Indonesia? in Canada? in the rest of the world? (See also pages 13 and 37 to 38.)

Canadian NGOs in Indonesia

On page 38, the questions bothering a number of Canadian universities are outlined:

- Can real development happen when basic human rights are lacking?
- Can one culture really "develop" another?
- Are NGOs and Universities helping or harming by being in Indonesia, given the high degree of military government control of NGO activities?

Imagine that you are the Senate of a Canadian university. Discuss whether your university should accept funds from CIDA to carry out projects in West Papua (Irian Jaya).

Check Out Your Sneakers

Where were your running shoes made? For those who try to buy "Made in Canada" products, running shoes are hard to find. Nike, Rebock, Adidas and Bata all have large factories in Indonesia (see page 38).

Take a role:

- a Canadian factory worker, recently laid off as her employer, a large shoe manufacturer, moved their operations to Indonesia;
- an Indonesian factory worker, paid \$50 US per month to assemble Nike running shoes.

Act out the conversation between them.



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THE INDONESIA KIT

"A carefully researched and eminently readable account of the political and social forces behind Indonesia's powerful military government."

— Susan Yates,
Reference Librarian

"A vital resource for anyone who wants to look beyond the travel brochures."

— Maureen Davies
Associate Professor of Law
Carleton University

"This kit is a basic building block for an essential understanding of the human rights situation in Indonesia today."

— Ron Dart
Political Philosophy Instructor
Fraser Valley College